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Main works-

A saga of Sacrifices: Praja Parishad Movement in J&K

100 Documents: A reference book J&K, Mission Accomplished

A Compendium of Icons of Jammu & Kashmir & our Inspiration (English)

Jammu Kashmir ki Sangarsh Gatha (Hindi)

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Face to Face with armed Villagess in the midst of night

Possible ~~Aversion of bloody encounter with Villagers~~ in the midst of night

It was in the month of June that the author came out of his hideout in a village near Srinagar along with Shri Bodhraj and Shri Amarnath a very devout worker from Noashera. Mr. Bodh Raj came from Jammu the same morning with mesages and food stuffs Shri Amarnath was already with me as a guard. He was strong sturdy and dare devil and a symbole of faith and integrity. Our march was towards Mansar and then to Surah Salathian. At 2 P.M. the party reached Mansar. Five miles tough and tensious journey every minute starked with fear of detection by the police and others who were being bribed for espoinage, a place in quite seclusion under the shade of big trees on the eastern side of the Mansar Lake was chosen for relaxation, and preparation of the meals. But the evil eyes had noticed our movements , how when and where , was not known to it. The only food stuff the rice were to be boiled in a kettle taken from the villagers. Hardly we the party had satisfied the burning hunger with the help of salt, a shopkeeper, who was our well wisher came in a rushed to it with panic and worry writ large on his face to break the alarming news that police had arrived in the vicinity and was scheming to encircle the party. There was no time to be wasted. In no time the members of the party packed up their respective loas that varied from 10 to 15 Kgs, started their march up the hills on the southern side of the Lake. The police reached the place of our stay, when we the party had rescued the top of the Hills, and felt out of woods and relieved of the fatal tensions. It was a hard and fast rule for the undergrounds to avoid the beaten track for sake of safety. Determination of the direction in which a certain destination lied, was the only guide to be applied. So the party also chose the unbeaten track of the rocky hills at which every step offered resistence and tested our patience and skill. Sometime the had to retrace the steps and chose some other path. At points the rocks did not offer a slightness . The other problem was that breack in between to step on the track chosen ran through thick jungle infested withferodi-

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and snakes but none of the party felt deterred and discourage to pursue the hardes journey ever taken. But our relief on the top was short-lived and proved to be a dream as the other other side of the hill was still equally of the same sharp rocky and terrain with no sight of the destination. It was a march through death and destruction. Every step was tormenting and torturing. The light of the sun was departing the party. The thirst and hunger was overwelming the stamina. There was no trace of a well in the way. Perspiration throughout body was squeezing whatever strength there was left in the body. The site was totally unhabitatdd. A few persons and womenfolk could be located at far off scattered villages. The places being far off with approaches so tough, the party could not think of going to the houses for a drop of water to wet their parched throats and lips. Mr. Bodhraj Sharma was endowned with examplary common sense. He had brought a dozen lemons from Jammu not out of a ~~wish~~ vizulization of such a sitution that was waiting us. But these lemons proved of immense value to the hungery, thirsty and dead d tired partyand their juice sustained us a lot. At last the party reached the bed of the hills with Nallas full of buring sands that further checked the march and added to our problems. By now the dusk had set in. At last we reached a point, where it was necessary to redetermine the direction of the destination as goind straight would have have taken the party to Pakistan. A turn to the right for the destination made us face to face with an hill that stretched far below. All the three members of the party got separated in searching a passage to the hill. They had to shout to know about each other. Mr. Amarth was the first to be on the top of the hill but he was far way from others. But they came to know about his succes but the darkness further added to our difficulties and it was neither possible from for Amarnath to relocate the place

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he made his way up nor possible for others to see through the far off place. The author too managed after a fall or two with fruises on the arms and face to be on the top with the help of roots of the trees rendered naked by the erosion of the steepy surface of the hill. Shri Bodh Raj asked for help as he was hanging from the root of a tree the surface having given way under desperate efforts and weight of the organs. He could be rescued with hard labour. Just imagine the person remained hanging with a 15 kg load on his back for 15 minutes. Amen of indomitable spirit with stout body matched the crisis creditably. The fall from the position he hangedmin could proved to be a life taking one. Hardly the party got together on the uneven and stoney surface of the top, we heard threatening shouts from the villagers asking: Who were we? Do not darre to move to their side otherwise they will be shot dead. The constant cries and shout compelled the author to say: We have forgotten the way and are coming to you. This further alarmed them and they took positions on their side. I used to have a five cell battery but it could not be used unless situation demanded so. The top of the hill was so narrow and steepy that it did not allow us to stand up to be on our feet. While crawling to a safer place, the battery had to be used per force. Perhaps it was with the wish of the Almight. The author had his hips and palms on the ground for feeling the ground to crawl onward. The light of the battery spotted a scorpian of 9 inches lenghh well set to sting his prey to finish his life . What a succes-ive dreadful and fatal test1# Well the scene of the scropian dropped with much mantal relief but the party could not imagine that the toughest and the most dangerous part of the story going to be enacted a few minutes later.

When the party reached climed down to reach the Nalla, more than fifty villagers, armed with rifles, axes and lathies, shouted at us not to move a step further. The

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the party was stunned for a moment but with lightening speed got well composed. The author said: We are simply travellers and have lost the way. You hear us cooly . We are neither robbers nor bandits whatever our disposition may suggest, But they would not hear and our entreaties and requests were all drowned in the din in their full throated shouts. In the meanwhile tye tried to encirlee us but all of us were wise enough in not allowing any body to be on our backs. Now the climax had reached. The wordy war found an end with an attack by one of the villagers with an axe on the head of Mr. Amarnath who fortunately was saved by the load of a big bundle of files. Then the author had to shout likewise: Please listen. We know you are many and can bring hell to us in no time. But remember if the score are to be settled with the pride of deadly weapons, then you would be at loss. None will escape to safety. The village be razed to the ground and reduced to a cremation place and in the meanwhile asked my colleagues to take out two grandes. It was sufficient to cool them down. But they persisted that they would keep the party under their custody to be handed over to the police in the morning. It too could not be a meeting ground as that would have been more damaging by going into the hands of Government so easily and cheaply. The author had used all his wits and power of ~~pusue~~ pursuasion to no avail. But there was still one big shot in his gun. Isaid : " You people know but we do not want to give our identity for some greater purpose, and when you come to know, you will definitely repent for what you have done. Please believe us for God's sake and make way for us. Realize in our sufferance lies your sufferance But this too failed to bring them round. They could not understand the clue guarding given. At last it was said. " We are Praja Parishad people and are fighting for the cause of the people". The moment Parishad was named, they threw aside their weapons and fell on our feet and felt highly regretful for

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for what had happpened. A few of them said: We have recognized you. Now we will not allow you to leave without gracing our village and accepting whatever they could offer by way of meals. But it being against our principle to stop short of the destination, we did not agree to break the journey half way though we were in the jaws of hunger and thirst with strong temptation to give in to their heartfelt desires, as any weakness or any blacksheep could prove immensely dangerous for the so onerous a cusue being fought with all at stake. Fortunately they agreed and saw us off from their village. This crucial and dangdrous scene lasted two and a half hour at 12 midnijght. They tried hard to know our destination and offered all help to escort us comflortable to reach us there but neither the location was spelled out nor the help was acceptedfor secrecy purpose. IN way fell a village. The party intended to call one the villagers to quench their thirst but the loud barking of the dogs awakened the villagers frightfully who rebuked and threathened us as to robbers and therewas a fear of another encounter but fortunately it got averted by our complete silence and hasty escape from the place. After every two threee miles a lemon was used when the thrist became unbearzble and exhausting. The destination was still far off and the gll sandy tract stretching before us for miles together was telling upon the fatigued limbs and the nvervous system was reaching the breaking point. Just imagine how horrible it is to be without water for hours together in a hilly and rough sandy tract. At 4 A.M. the party reached the Khud in the east of the destination - Gurah Slathian - but the author felt strong pulpitation of heart , fell down on the sand in a state of great restless. The respiration became hard. He could neither sit, nor lie down until a glass of water was brought by one of the colleges with the help of women who had come to draw water from the well. After a short while the author

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could open his eyes , the restlessness subsided and the party decided to proceed on to the destination before the day light. to bethere Shri Dyansingh and Shri Chajjuram, both locals, came at once to us and provided all comfort and medical treatment. Fatigue, hunger thirst and sleeplessnes had ~~eaten a~~ exhausted all the stamina and energy in us. Special nutritious meals were served but the fatigue kept the party down on their beds till evening when the ~~regenerated~~ energy returned. to our bodies.

Two villagers managed to be at Gurah Slathian the 3rd day and being well known to both Shri Dyansingh and Shri Chhaju Ram as trust worthy and faithful workers, were allowed access to our hide-out. They fell on the feet of the author and shed profously tears of emotions, regret for what had happened in their village on day before yesterday night, and affection. We hugged them warmly and requested them to forget the past bitterness of the caused by no fault on your part and due to misunderstanding. They narrated their experiences in the past saying: " Pakistan border is not far off from our village. They have often penetrated made to our villages and have taken away with a lot of cattle Twice we have had encounter with them. Fire was exchanged with no loss of life on either side butsince then we are always on guard. Your response to our calls as "We are coming to you, rest assured", further alarmed the whole village. There wasonly one overriding sense that no other but Pamkistanies are advancing towards us. All fearing bloody encounter came out with whatever they could lay their hands on. We had seven double barrel rifles, 5 grenades, 2 revolvers, and anumber of swords and axes. Predominently the villages are inhabited by Rajputs and they have a unity on the issue. They feel sorry not to have understood and with whom we were fighting. Your conciliatory talk and polite behaviour all failed to cool us down as the feelings of an enemy out to plunder us had so dominated our head and heart." But I am sorry not to have acceded to their request for a visit to their place

Your unusual dress like robbers and dacoits could not impress us otherwise

which could have been resolved with the innocent blood on both sides to be ultimately repented & after words

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SHRI MAHARAJA HARI SINGH'S EXPULSION FROM THE STATE.

On 27th October, 1947, Shri Maharaja Jammu & Kashmir signed the instrument of accession which was accepted by Lord Mountbattan, the then Governor General of India without any unconditionally But Shri Jawahar Lal Ji, Nehru, the Prime Minister of India desired the release of Sheikh Abdulla, his release for the signature on the instrument of Access and his elevation as Head of the State Administration, before despatch of the defence forces. This was too great an even and too great an honour to the Sheikh to lose his mental equi-librium. Further, the undreamt of tumultous reception given to him by the Jammu people as Head of the State, all in good faith, after reconciling with the change of masters, madd him and his collegues to fly very high in the air as victors and fullfledged masters of the people of the State. His subsequent speeches and statements gradually developed to smack of authoritarianism, revengeance against and hatred for the Jammu people being the product of certain background from which he neither tried, nor liked to come out. Maharaja's rule got the terminology of Dogra Rule, although the history bear out the fact, that the Maharaja did more for Kashmir than for Jammu. Biting, sarcastic and hitting remarks, against the Dogras, became the order of the day. The Dogras put up with all this with examplary patience and helpless silence and never gave any opportunity to the new rulers either to think or feel that the Jammu people did not cooperate with them in the interest of the country at large. National Conference had little foot-ing in the Jammu region but the power allured some to join hands with them and whatever was desired was got done through them so much so that a resolution was got moved by one Ramlal an unkown, illiterate and unimpressive figure, that Maharaja Harisingh should quit the State as as long as he was there the Sheikh could not rule effectively. The ground was prepared and pressre was exercised on the authorities that counted then, to realize his long cherished dream of ousting the Maha

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rajaji Shri Maharaja Hari Singh respected honour mor~~anything else~~ and did not like to stay any longer in the State, in so vicious an atmosphere, devoid of human regard and decorum, decided to leave the State for reasons of health. The proclamation to the effect reads as under:

"Whereas I have decided for reasons of health to the State for a temporary period and to entrust to the Yuvraj Shree Karansinghji Bahadur for that period all my powers and functions in regard to the Government of the State.

Now, therefore, I hereby direct and declare that all powers and functions, whether legislative, executive, or judicial which are exerciseable by me in relation to the State and its Government, including in particular my right and prerogative of making laws, or issuing Proclamations, Orders and Ordinances, of remitting, commuting or reducing sentences, and of pardoning ofenders, shall during the period of my absence from the State, be exercisedble by the Yuvraj Shree Karansinghji Bahadur.

Sd. Harisingh
MAHARajadhiraj

J&K GOVT. Gazette dated 20th June, 1948.

The people of Jammu, with the exception of certain black sheep, who held Mujras and festivities at their houses in honour and ~~pleasure~~ of Sheikh Sahib, ~~were having~~ a bitter taste ~~of so much~~ cherished and anxiously awaited dreams of a benevolent rule, with justice and fairply to all irrespective of caste and creed and ~~the~~ region. ~~The expulsion of Shri Maharaja sparked off the~~ already agitated minds when the National Conference announced ~~that a Day of~~ Deliverance ~~from autocratic Dogra Rule will~~ be observed all over the State, with public meetings and electrification on the Government and public ~~meetings~~. ~~The~~ Praja Parishad ~~that~~

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almost an organization on paper only was activated by the announcement by the Government Ruling Party, more based on revenge and hatred than any genuvine cause. Praja Parishad as already stated, was no more in favour of a feudal set up, and rather welcomed the advent of independance with a democratic set-up rule that would safeguard the rights of the people in a better way, as a sacred trust, and extended all-out support to the new rulers. But this step of theirs, like others, created doubts in their mind that the new rulers are against the Dogra community as a whole and they have little regard for the ambitions and aspirations of the people who looked to them as not their masters but servants ad the democracy implies. Irrespective of the fact whether they liked the Maharaja or not, though he commanded great respect among the masses on account of institution of Maharaja that thrived for two hundred years, Praja Parishad felt called upon to protest against the decision of the Maharaja to leave the State, on heeath grounds, which was actually an excuse to honour the wishes of the both the State and the Central leadership, but the announcement to celebrate the "Deliverance Day", with festivities , rejoicings and electrification of the public buildings. As a result Praja Parishad announced that a public meetings would be held all over the region against the "Deliverance Day". Jammu City was already under the ugly shadow of 144 the announcement of a Public meeting in Jammu was at once followed by the promulgation of 144. I was sitting with Shri Rupchand Nandan, the them President of the Praja Parishad nearabout 12 noon. In an emergency meeting of the workers, it was decided that a Public meeting should be held at village Majheen about 4 miles away across Tawai opposite water works. But the time was very short and the workers did tremenduous job to convey the message to the people from door to door

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The appeal got a very good response. Not less than 10,000 people - men and women, along with children wading cold Tawi water, assembled at Majheen village to lodge their protest. The decision to hold a protest meeting at the village proved to be very wise, on two counts. First the village being in Samba Tehsil, we did not expect that the Government would be so efficient and alert to ban the meeting within a time of only four hours and secondly the village was not away from Jammu City, ~~itself to be prove to be~~ of any consequence to the public, already fed up with the day to day speeches of ill-will against the Dogras. The meeting was addressed by the then President, Shri Rupchand Nandan , Shri Maddanlal, Shri Yash Bhasin and myself. All the speakers showed examplary restraint, None lost temper and one and all confined to the subject of democracy that calls for equality, liberty both of press and platform, and hatred to none and goodwill to all without any distinction . However, it was pointed out that benaming and abusing the whole Dogra community could not be taken lying down with the resultant ~~retaliation~~ confrontation that would do no good to either side. So the dream of a "Deliverance Day", entertained by the Ruling Party, was drowned in the surging tides of our protests throughout the region. It all added to the prestige and popularity of the Parishad. But on the other hand, the Sheikh and his Ruling Party rather than learning any lesson, became more and more revengful, harsh and ill-tempered against the Jammu people. Parishad was blamed as communal, feudalist and retrogressive orgnization. People can easily memorise the speeches made thereafter by the Ruling party leadership, the refrain and theme that they carried was: that Jammu people could get two and a ~~½~~ half districts from Ratnitop to Kathua and ~~from~~ Akhnur, and that they were prepared to part with that, ~~although the Parishad never demanded like that~~.

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Although Sheikh Abdullah was a leader of repute and calibre, had sided with the Indian National Congress in the struggle for independence of the country, but the hard fact stands unrefuted that he and his organization, the National Conference built upon anti-Dogra and anti-maharaja feelings, did not have any appeal for the people of Jammu and Ladakh. The said organization had no footing at all in the aforesaid regions. The political gospel of his, the National Conference's "New Kashmir" represented the aspirations and ambitions of the people solely in the Valley only. The "quit Kashmir" movement too clearly demonstrated the aims and objects of the Kashmiri leadership to confirm that Sheikh Abdullah never cared to be a leader of an equal and fair basis. The dissemination in every sphere was of the highest order. to lead the whole of the State and remained confined to his Kashmiri people. Sheer and simple imposition of Sheikh Satrik's sheer insposition the Sheikh on Jammu and Ladakh regions made him too big to contain himself. He, the Sheikh, rightly thought that with the presence of the Maharaja in the State, the sails of his leadership will not get the air enough to navigate over the heads of Jammu and Ladakh people. His manipulation materialized with the unstinted support and grace of Shri Jawharlal Nehru, who had personal enemity againzt the Maharaja for his detention at Kohala in 1946. Shri Jawharlal Ji, when he was Prime minister of the country, came to Jammu, in 1950, certified the fact of his personal enemity in his address to the Jammu people in the Parade ground wherein he said : Maharaja Harisingh was a fool to detain me a few years earlier as he did not like my entry into the State. He did not know then that which way the wind was blowing. The person to whom he was detaining is to become the Prime Minister of a big country like India shortly." This enemity made Sheikh Abdullah's game of Maharaja expulsion very easy.

The long and free hand to Sheikh Abdullah and expulsion of the Maharaja from the State proved afterwards that that decision based on sentiments was wrong politically

ill-fated for the country, as a whole and insulting for the Maharaja and the people, who had age-old respect and affection for the institution that could not die overnight. Rather, it angered the people, not because they were enamered of the person of Maharaja, but because Maharaja could prove to be a force eough to keep check and balance, which could not be expected from Shri Yuvraj Karan Singh, to whom he delegated all his powers in his absence. It was not a big expectation from a big personality like Shri Jawharlal Nehru ji to forget his personal insult for the sake of greater interest. Had the Maharaja been in the State, Sheikh Abdullah would have thought twice before riding rough shod, as he did, to the great headache of Shri Nehru Ji himself in later years.

As far as I know, Maharaja was made to leave the State because Sheikh Abdullah desired so. The issue dragged on to the extent of imminent confontration with the Government of India. As a result, Sardar Patel, the then Home Minister, had to come to State to persuade the Maharaja to leave temporarily, with the assurance that he would arrange his come back after some time. It took full three days to prevail upon the Maharaja to leave the scene.

THE BIRTH OF PRAJA PARISHAD.

A little political study of the situation in the Jammu and Kashmir State, before the advent of Praja Parishad - mainly a party of Jammu region- is a must to understand the circumstances, cross currents, its birth, roll, impact, and political necessity responsible for its birth and worth.

The Jammu and Kashmir State comprises of three distinct regions, Kashmir valley, Ladakh and Jammu. All the three regions have their own language, culture and geography. They were integrated into one administrative unit by the Maharaja, Shri Gulabsingh. Naturally consequently the different people had different problems - ecnomic, cultural and social and different political aspirations. The National Conference, a by-product of the Muslim Conference, built up its citadel on anti-dogra feelings under the leadership of Sheikh Abdullah druing the Maharaja Harisingh's rule. In Jammu region, there was a Muslim League under the leadership Ch. Gulam Abbas, an Advocate. The Hindus had their own organisation known as Hidu- Hindu Sabha, under a very strong leadership of Shri Gopal Dutt Ji Mengi. So all the organizations afraid of contrary and opposite policies of each other controlled the political scene. None of the leaders or the organization could rise above communal appeal and parochial interests to talk in terms of the State as a whole, to open their respective doors to others than their own people professing a particular religion and inhabitating a particlular region.

The advent of independence, could not change the adherent and propounders of certain objects and ideals, could not be expected to become tobecome pious, secular and all embracing as it was naturally impossible to swim along the people against the currents, so deme determinedly flowed to drown the opponents. The only leader that could be expected to fullfil the desired and much- roll also fell prey to communal feelings. Though we praise Sheikh Sahib's roll

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to maintain communal harmony, when the Valley was ~~under fire~~ attacked ~~by the enemy~~ Pakistan. But he could not forget a few murders of his co-religionists in Jammu region, and never condemned what happened to thousands of Hindus in the then District Mirpur, Rajouri and adjoining area. The history bears eloquently that the Hindus all over the State were the worst sufferers. Their wounds so ~~soar~~ fatal and deep needed affectionate and sympathetic treatment at the hands of the rulers, but their speeches and actions created an impression of uncertainty and insecurity and mirrored ~~them~~ it, the attitude never expected from the Shukla-dulled as sectarian, unjust and revengful. His speech at Reasi reads as : Jammu peoples' hands are red with muslims blood. Dogras have sequeezed the blood of Kahsmiris for centuries and he eaglerly look forward to a day when Jammu people are turned ~~into~~ and like Kashmiri labourers with ~~daddles~~ palaswa on their backs ~~to carry the load~~ the help with a long ropes on their shoulders." The Hindu Sabha that worked as an opposition party in the State before 1947, became inactive ~~and~~ and did not either dare or thought advisable to say or represent the facts in their true colours, in order not to antagonize the rulers for selfish ends. The situation was ~~hopeless~~ grim sic. Unwarranted supression had created a great depressions. To crown all, ~~An~~ a need necessity of a organization ~~that~~ which could ~~spe~~ stand for the full integration of the State with rest of the country like other States, was found a safe-guard and secure people's rights necessity, seriously more in the interest of the country at large, ~~that~~ only could safeguard and secure ~~their local~~ People's rights. Like: "~~Discovery~~ Necessity is the mother of invention", Shri Balraj Madhok, ~~a resident of~~ was born and bred Jammu and Kashmir, from his childhood read and realized the lines on the wall and gave birth to a political party named Praja Parishad in 1947.

It was a single way traffic, with none to refute what was being said.

Its formation, quite in time, was hailed all over the ~~regions~~ State. Supressed masses who had been fed up with anti-dogra tirode, systematic and deliberate discrimination and alround suffocation ~~rallied~~ compelled the people to ~~round~~ a round the Parishad

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with one voice and mind. Till then, there was no broad-based and political activity on democratic lines, democratic setup being practically absent.

Though it was an historical, political and democratic necessity, but much of the credit for its early birth, nursing and making it a force to be recknoned with, goes to the Sheikh, who, well-equipped with the implicit faith of Shri Nehru in him, was dazed with the lust of power, having not a healthy, secular and democratic backgrmund, etc., considered Jammu and Ladakh people as second class State subjects, showed little love for them and not prove to be a benevolent leader, to look all with one eye, having equal love and compassion for all and behaved to surpass the medevial triumphants against supressed. He did not appreciate the offered cooperation. Rather it was taken for a sign of weakness. True to their tradition, Dogras proved passive enough, they did not like to displease Nehru. Injurecd again and again, insulted off and on and supresed to the most, they woke upto their other side of their traits to prove to be aggressive enough to bring the aggressive to the senses. that they did creditably.

One, Hani Wazir, was its first President who later died as a martyer in the dfence ddfence of his State as Military Officer. But its activities remained confined to camera meetings and littleget-to-gether for house to house appeal In tne beginning it was an organization guided and run by RSS youngmen. But with the ban on the RSS organization, the work had come to a stand still. Section 144 and Section 50 of the defence of Kashmir Rules, werd there to suffocate and restrict any sort of public or social activity. Sheikh Abdullah neither liked those who joined his ranks nor tolerated his opponents. He did not like even the mildest protest by way of a resolution against supressive, undemocrative, unsecular and agressive poli

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The papers like "Swadesh" and "Sadaquat" were banned and silenced. The Indian Newspapers like "Pratap", "Hindu" and "Organizor", were banned entry into the State because of their critical appreciation that did not find favour with the State Government. Even the social organizations, which had nothing to do with politics, came under the Rulers wrath, to see and watch their slow social and political death helplessly.

The repression reached its climax with the unwarranted, unprovoked arrest of Pandit Premnath along with five others namely: Deceased Th. Dhanantar Singh, Shri Shivnath Nanda, Shri Shiv Ram Gupta, Editor the weekly "Amar", Shri Shyamlal Sharma, Shri Chatruram Dogra, on 4th Februaru 1949, at 3 A.M. Pandit Premnath, was considered dangerous and anti-government because of his being the head of the RSS Organization, in the State, although he was a perfect gentleman, with ill-will to none, love and respect for all, and most passive and serene person and least harmful to the Government. Shiv - Nath, had no standing in the public except that he was Maharaja's Darbari once upon a time, had given no cause for arrest and did not oppose the regime at all. Mr. Shyamlal, another harmless and passive fellow, was arrested because he was the Secretary of the RSS Organization then. Th. Dhanantar singh, truthful, straightforward, jolly and compassionate person, known for his help to needy brilliant students, was arrested, as he had been alleged to have had got murdered muslims in Ramnagar and other places in the interior. Shri Shivram Gupta, a clear, active and well-dressed vocal editor of an old weekly "Amar", was arrested because of his writngs against the Government.

I had no connection with the Praja Parishad then Although I had been an ardent and devoted worker of the RSS, but had got disillusioned with it and had left the

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I had been serving in the Addit Department when the worse happened to infuse life in the hated and depressed people to prove a blessing in disguise. Certain people of the City along with Bhagwat Swarup, The RSS Pracharak, Shri Jagdish Raj Sachdev, Shri Charanjeet Lal, Shri Durga Dutt Wazir etc. came to my place, now Link Road, at 4-30 A.M. I had just got up and was ~~come from bathroom~~ and getting ready for studies for "Prabhakar Examination" to be held in May 1949. They narrated the whole story and prevailed upon me to give up studies; One and all desired that I should lead at that crucial hour, as there was none in their opinion to face the dreadful and challenging situation. I was caught between the two worlds. One pushed me towards studies that I had to discontinue again and again for which I had a burning desire, and other one, proved more persuaive and appealing, as in the stifling of the voice and in the arresst of the some what vocal persons I read and felt a national affront and dishonour not to be tolerated, at any cost, in the interest of the people of the State and the country at large. So I gave up my studies, applied for leave from office on sickness went underground immediately and arranged a workers meeting, the same morning. I had a tough time without resources of men and money, having no contact with RSS cadre, who were already in great disarray, the organization being banned since long and all feeling panicky and helpless. The all I could get through the initial meeting was to send telegrams of protest and anger against the uncalled for arrests, to Rashtrapatti, to the Prime Minister, the Hon'ble Home minister, and the Sheikh. I got pay on 1st Feb, 1949 and therefore Rs. 30/- with me at that time. So the amount was spent on the telegrams. This is to show our financial position. So I had to start from zero, as regards organization, workers and funds. So nothing else could be done on the day of arrest of the leaders. But for the next day, i.e, on 6th of Feb., something effective

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was considered to be imperative, but how to cook an idea for some effective action stared in the face. This discouraging situation that weakened the spirits but losing heart, at such a crucial time, was fully deliberated upon and weiged against what worse could otherwise happen. Even the RSS people were not prepared to court arrest, but to speak of others. So the least harmful programme flashed before and agreed upon by all. A call for complete hartal was given as a protest against the arrests of most peaceful persons, alleged to be harmful for the Sheikh. So as many people as could be persuaded to meet me were called together, at Wazir Durga Dass's house in Jullahaka Monalla, Jammu, to consider how the Hartal could be effective and complete. As many as 80 people, young and old, RSS workers and citizens assembled on the night between 5th and 6th Feb. 1949. The organization, Praja Parishad was unknown, had no contact with the people and I was also out of contact either with the workers and the people. Thus we could not expect Hartal to be complete, unless special pains were taken to contact the shopkeepers, at their pleaces, at night. So 8 groups of 10 each were formed to contact all the business community - Arathies, shopkeepers, hawkers, khokawalas, rehariwalas, all big and petty concerns - spread over the city. The appeal they were to make to make them understand the forced step calling for sacrifice on their part reads: The arrest of innocent and harmless persons, who command respect among Dogras, and who are considered to the last hope for them, had made it clear that the Sheikh is out to play with Dogras honour, aspirations and democratic rights, with their very existence in danger now. We have to prove that self respect and self pride are very dear to us. We must demonstrate, that we can tolerate, as we have been tolerating, to an extent, thereafter we are strong enough to retaliate as well. The sacrifice involved in the

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course of
hartal will vindicate our will to resist and fight against
injustice, foulplay and repressions, as silence and submis-
sion before the authoritarian and bigotted rulers, is sure to
seal our fate and open the ~~evil~~ flood-gate of tyranny and
tortoure aimed at exterminating the race from the face of
the earth? The workers were directed to be polite, submis-
sive and respectful to all. They were further instructed to
~~touch-the-feet~~ put the pagri or the cap on the feet of those
who prove adament and reluctant. The workers did a wonderful
job. ~~They started~~ contacting the ~~desired~~ concerned started from ~~from~~ 9 PM
to 5 A.M. the 7th Feb., the day of hartal. The process went
so nicely, methodically and silently that the Government or
its any agency could not know what the 7th morn had in store
was ~~bringing~~
for them. ~~Their~~ devoted, concerted and determined efforts
extending over full 8 hours bore the deserved and desired
result. The whole city bore a deserted look and there was
none to be seen in the bazars. Such an impressively complete
bandh came as a great surprise to the rulers ~~as~~ on the day
of arrests, the people's silence and peaceful atmosphere
alround suggested that they had no life and strength left to
protest ~~much against the expectations~~.

The iron being hot enough for a favourable turn, we
again assembled and decided to take out a protest march in
the City, to further build up the tempo created by the historical
hartal. ~~It~~ This was Shri Madan's suggestion and was appreciated
by all. He offered himself to lead the protest procession
and court arrest. He felt highly agitated and was very
anxious to jump into the fire to brave the situation. But
I was reluctant to spare him at the initial stage as the
future suggested that he the bravest of all, steadfast and
faithful, would be a source of help and inspiration for him.
He was so adament and furious that he wept twice arguing
~~th~~at "well begun is half done". I suggested to the workers

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 volunteer himself.

that some body else should offer. But none except Shri Yashpaul Bhasin another stalwart came forward. But he too could hardly be spared being a useful consultant, and writer and as a strong link between RSS and others like me. So I had to the author allow Shri Madan Lal, to do the job, steal the initiative to defy the ban on process to give a filip to the protest ions and public meetings and court arrest. Sections 144 and 50 were already in operation, since long.

Shri Madanlal was one of the rare, st persons whose happi- ness knows no bounds when they called upon to make a offer themselves for sacrifice. It was the happiest and the brightest day of his life. His spirits rose to enviable hights nieght, face glowed with light and body sit stirred to fight for the honour and the right.

Again the public and the people Government were quite in dark about the future course of action. Shri Madan Lal all alone came in the, jain bazar, gave shouted raised slogans against the Government and in praise of the arrested persons especially Pandit Premnath ji, who was decidedly and acceptedly head and shoulder above the others. In minutes time, he gathered round him a mob of about three thousands people which went on swelling as the news spread far and wide. So he led a processions of five hundred thousands towards the old Secretariate. He addressed three the public at one places. The last was outside the old sectariate, as the massive gates were closed for fear of trouble and disturbance inside. This shattered the clouds of depression like cotton flakes, a new spirit was infused in the public and the Government well realized the mode of anger that surged lightningly to challenge the repression, injustice, hard-headed attitude, discrimination and agressions on civil liberties and democratic rights. Shri Madanlal's address outside the old Secretariate though maiden one, was wonderful as regards eloquency, force , logic and impact. The public applauded his bravery and exemplary courage and spirit, a rare asset. a trait with rare persons

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I exactly remembers his leading the processions with an old and ordinary blanket on his houlders. To initiate the struggle, was not a joke when the whole atmosphere was surged with fear and unprecendeted supression. He, by offering himself, at the alter of human dignity, and justice and fair-play, contributed a lot, to raise the supressed spirits to a favourable pitch, to the satisfaction and jubilation of all.

. The whole history of the new rulers, who came into power in 1947 was detailed upon, to highlight their vindictive nature, and prejudice against the Dogras, and stifling of their voice, with nice sequence and required emphasis. The Section 144 was torn into shreds and the police - a massive force of 3 to 4 hundred - could not dare to arrest him till he did justice with his address and offered himself to be taken into custody.

Very much inspired and impressed by the daring action of Shri Madan Lal, Shri Yashpaul Bhasin, quite a young and spirited student, came to my hide out in the Noon, the same day, with to seek permission to repeat the performance of Shri Madanlal and court arrest, at some other end of the City. In view of the paucity of stalwarts like Madanlal and Shri Yashpaul, I did try to persuade him to wait till to-morrow as that days programme was more than sufficient and it was not posible to spare him with an eye on future that awaited his services more usefully. But it was all in vain, to restrain him, in view of his overflowing enthusism and fluttering passionate desire. So he too was allowed to jump into the fray, by leading the procession from Purani Mandi, which was a commodius meeting ground then, and to lastly address the public at Post Office Chowk in Pacca Danga. This demonstration surpassed the previous one. The people of Jammu know, Mr. Yash Basin Bhasin. Throughout his educational career, he led the student community to fight against injustice comend a

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His emphatic, eloqent and objective presentation, created a luadable effect on the people, in raising their pent up spirit to a consniderable ~~degree~~ height.

Thus the brave Dogras who had all along been subjected to disgrace and humiliation, ever since the change of rulers, adopted the path of sacrifice, to ~~vindicate~~ preserve their honour and self respect, to safeguard their vdry existence and by facing upto the crucial situation with unprecedented faith. The Satyagraph, so lauched, could not be run beyond three weeks, due to its abrupt start without any preparation beforehandand. ~~total~~ Only 18 volunteers should be mustered to court arrest spread over a period of 3 weeks. absence of resources. So it was thought advisable, after long and exhuastive deliberations, at Shitla Mandir, near Nagrota, as well, the author is ~~a~~ hide out ~~of mine~~, to suspend the movement for some time, to gain time to make preparations for striking effectively in future, as it was correctly assessed then, that the Government could not be moved to redress its wrongs ~~with~~ by the present impressive ~~upsur~~ but short-lived upsurge, likely to fizzle out, with damaging implications. The main consideration that prompted us, to suspend the movement was to save the face, simply in view of the inner weakness sought to be covered with an excuse that voluntary suspension should afford time to the Government to mend itself.

So a poster was drafted then and there for the suspension of the ~~strugle~~ struggle, wherein it was stated that the Satyagrah to express resentment was a token one. That we had no intention to embarrass the Government. That the token satyagrah was considered to be sufficient enough to open the closed eyes and sharpen the deaf ears of the rulers, towards the Jammu region. It had a touch of reconciliation, in the shape of a humble request that the govt. would forthwith ~~forreconsider its appreciation~~ of the important ~~the peoples' apprehensions by releasing~~ the ~~leaders~~ Personalities ~~persons~~ arrested unwarrantedly. In the end the Government was warned to be beware that if peoples' ~~their~~ protest went unheeded, ~~and~~ repression continued, ~~and~~ their freedom and aspirations

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dignity and honour

were trampled upon, as hither-to, the people would revive their struggle with renewed vigour and undergo any amount of sacrifice to uphold justice, honour and freedom no less dear to them than their counterparts in Kashmir valley.

In this way the struggle remained suspended for four months. Knowing well that the Government would not part with the stigma of discrimination, prejudice against the Dogras and continued stifling their voice, the suspension period was well utilized to prepare the people for the crucial struggle ahead. In the meanwhile, all constitutional means open to us were tried to persuade the Government for fair and just treatment, but in vain. Even the arrested persons were not released to ease the tension, and to heal the injured pride and self respectof the people..

Exit of Maharaja

Still not satisfied with all these steps, the New Masters of the State, laid naked their policy of communal biase aimed at Greater Kashmir, systematic efforts were made to to evolve opinion to carve out two new Districts, as Doda and Poonch, out of Udhampur and Reasi respectively. reiterating in speeches that Jammu province was composed of only two and a half districts from Patnitop to Kathua. The two Districts of Pooch and Doda became a reality afterwards.

These in between developments in between the suspension of the agitation cleared all clouds of any doubts in the minds of the people and left them with no other alternative, but to choose the path of struggle. After being Now we were well equipped to meet the challenge effectively. So a notice of 48 hours duration, was served to the Government after going underground along with required number of workers The Government were not to prove prone to reason, without faltering a bit, the movement was launched just after the expiry of the notified duration in last week of July, 1949.

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New chapter

A peep into the internal affairs of the Parishad then developing, needs mention for correct appreciation of the future events that harmed the organization a lot and culminated in my resignation.

To be short and precise, Parja Parishad was evolved not as an independent and democratic organization and till the day of struggle, it was purely a paper organization, guided and controlled by RSS men. With Hari Wazir as its President, Shri Hans Raj Dogra, a staunch RSS man was its General Secretary. Till then I was no where in the picture. Though I have the pride of being RSS worker before 1947. Just after the initial struggle, when the Praja Parishad gained name and fame, being in the forefront to fight for peoples' interest, RSS authorities became more active and conscious to win credit although they turned their face defiantly at my call, to come forward at the initial stage. I do not deny that they did not work, but the way they tried to intrude and prevail upon the Parishad working raised doubts that they are more after controlling the organization than making it a broad based and fighting force. On the eve of second agitation, two Zonal Secretaries, named Bhagwat Swarup and Shri Ruplal Gupta, approached me, and authoritatively asked to appointed 2nd in command to run the era movement. Although they were selfless workers and had been working for the RSS since long, with devotion and dedication but in my humble opinion, with all respects to them, were not capable to manage the crises-riddern situtation. I chose Shri Radhakrishan to assist me. As Radha Krishan, though a devoted RSS, worker and better in every respects, to handle the affairs, was not liked to supersede them, who had much higher position and place in RSS. In short, the growth in popularity of the Parishad, generated clash in working and rivalery in workers since then.

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Shri Rupchand Nanda, a leading Advocate of repute, held ~~the office of~~ President~~ship~~ chair then. He ~~has~~ was ~~not~~ did not handle a politician before, and was little conversant with the technique of the political game. He was a simple and straightforward person lacking and had not the shrewdness and acuemen of a politician. He was a product of the circumstances and necessity, rather than an evovelu~~tion~~ evolution of political personality, that achieves the height, popularity and limelight not without undergoing strains and stresses, persecutions and imprisonments, with selfless dedication and devotion to a ~~the~~ cuase. (I knew it well that he might not stand the rigours of Jail life and prove weak might not be strong to remain steadfast to the end.) ~~He~~ was a very good speaker and writer too otherwise. ~~So~~ I knew ~~what~~ his useful and effective ~~work~~ Nanda ji's I could ~~do otherwise~~ be at ~~by remaining outside~~ Delhi. In view of ~~all~~ this, ~~my~~ the author's proposal to send him to Dehli ~~for~~ to propaganda and enlightenment of the ignorant Indians, ~~about the breaking down of the Indian backbone in crushing the Dogras and~~ how the Dogras of Jammu Region were discriminated and treated as 2nd class people by the Kashmiri Leadership and its very damaging ~~secessnit~~ secessionist ~~policies and the justification~~ policies based on loose and justify effectively the compulsions of the disintegration of the forced struggle, got unnimous approval by the workers. But, as apprehended earlier, the assignment of duties to Bhagwat Swarup and Shri Ruplal at the ~~th~~ eleventh hour, under compulsion, played havoc ~~with~~ to the future course of the agitation ~~in~~ at its very just initiation, to our misfortune.

The author had gone underground, with clear instructions to Shri Bhagwatswarup and Shri Ruplal, to have constant touch with ~~me~~ him for keeping ~~me~~ him well posted with the time to time developments, for smooth and proper running of the movement. But, to my surprise and wonder, these two persons did not think it proper to have any contact with me for full four days. How anxious and troubled I ~~were~~ was all those days, is ~~no less than~~ a tragic story. This time my hide-

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-out was a first-class place with all sorts of facilities available, but all faded into insignificane with darkness alround, being kept completely cut from the outside world. ~~Worri-~~ Tensions es tossed me up and down. Minutes lengthened into hours, rest and sleep became a dream and anxiety generated the restlessness to the extreme. It was not that they did not know the place. I was gaught miserably between the ebb and flow of the thoughts ~~that all~~ suggesting something wrong in the matter. All these four days and nights I remained on my legs most of the time standing with ears on the doors expecting a knock or a call every minute but ~~all~~ in vain. Both these above named persons proved so callous and careless not to ~~the person~~ my the author but indirectly to the cause.

Both these figures came to me at 10~~th~~ P.M. after ~~on the~~ four days since the struggle got green signal. 4~~th~~ of day of the struggle I heaved a sigh of relief which proved to be illusionary, the moment, these RSS Stalwarts The author gleaming with pride and satisfaction, like Sir Jhon Hellery and Sherpa the princess of Monte Everest, the conquerers of mounteverest, for the achievement they had bagged, narrated the very-senceter first sentense of their alleged matchless and enviable strewardship to have made given a tremendoustremendous start to the movement. I reproduce their narration for better appreciation:

"You will be glad to know that Shr Rupchand Nanda was asked to deliver a very strong and thundering speech to give fillip to the morale of the people and jolt to the Rulers. He did justice to our expectations and the masses in thousands were swept off their feet to shout slogans in condemnation of the Government. He warned the Government that their days were numbered and the people were now out to finish them politically with whatever means possible. Now our struggle getting with a creditable start ~~was sure~~ is half done. The spirits of the people are very high with high hopes for favourable response."

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Their highly spirited, loud and confident talk, stilled my spirits, stunned and shocked me to the utmost. I remained silent for a moment, pitied our lot and felt the fate of the people sealed by their emotional and ill-conceived childlike action in getting the person, planned to to be sent out to Delhi, was got arrested. My reaction to it was: "You have set sail the boat of our destiny without ores, to be capzied in the shirlwind of the midstream. Now the future is dark and gloomy. who knows how long the struggle goes? It is not possible to foresee what amount of sacrifices and tortorous treatment is in store for us. I cannot expect from Nanda Ji to remain unwavered and unshaken in face of long and rigours imprisonment. It is not that I doubted his integrity and honesty of purpose. But his being a raw and unseasoned person, in the field, can be run down, by the seasoned ones, we are faced with. Against "well done is half done" I feel in my humble opinion "Ill done has stolen the whole fun". I doubt now the destiny will not be able to see the sunshine. Violation of the clear instructions has dealt a blow to our aspirarions that is likely to result in frustration."

Now the milk had been spilt. The question was how to retrieve the worsened situation. I replaced these those persons who proved worthy for nothing in agitational approach by Shri Radha Krishan Sharma, who proved far far better inspite of lack of cooperation from them. Secondly constant and regular contact with Shri Nandha Ji had to be arranged, to sustain his morale in Jail .

A case of sedition against the Government was instituted against Shri Nanda Ji by the Government. Proceedings were held in Jail and the case having had been proved, he was sentenced to ___ years imprisonment. Once I managed to have a contact with him in Jail, at the point of a great risk and saw him in Prisoners' uniform. Till then, he was in high spirits and did not show any sign of weakness or despondency.

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(5)

After the arrest of Shri Rupchand Ji Nandna, our President, regular Satyagrah as planned started with ~~due~~ vigour and ~~animation~~. The response was healthy and encouraging enough. The preparations made during the period of ~~suspension~~ paid rich dividends and the whole region was stirred to action. Each District, Tehsil and villages came forward, with high spirits and enthusiism, to participate in holy war of justice against injustice, of good against the evil, of democracy against the autocracy, under the garb of democracy, and of fair against the ~~foulplay~~. Inspite of worst sort of repression - Lathi charges, harassment of Styagrahies, young and old, manhandling of womenfolk demonstrators, especially in the remote places, villages in Udhampur, Ramnagar, Basohli and Reasi Tehsils, the movement went on undeterred with exampiary zeal and ferver without parallel.

The salient features of the agitation were:

i) It was perfectly non-voilent, systematic and well controlled.

ii) The Satyagrah was regular. Five Satyagrahies courted arrest daily, with no time and place specified purposely, to leave the Government guessing ~~and~~ in suspension. The police and the C.I.D. had to work hard but in vain to know the place and time of satyagrah, which even the volunteers would not know before half an hour earlier.

iii) Satyagrahies were so trained and instructed that to ~~they would keep the garlands to worn without having that~~ keep the garlands in pockets, to roam about in the City, with natural cool and calm, without being noticed, as satyagries, and to notice ~~which were~~ the areas ~~without~~ police patrolling. ~~in order to be able to~~ address the public, till the police arrived there. Each of the Satyagrahy, would choose his own ~~place~~ for the purpose. Even when the police arrived, they were to give a slip to it to reappear at some other place. This way maximum tempo could be created and maximum propaganda made to the

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vi) Initiative was completely in our hands. We were not at the mercy of the Govt., rather the administration was was at our mercy. Nothing could happen that was not planned and desired beforehand. The author used to identify the places for ~~I~~ we wanted that there should be a lathi charge, whether in the city or outside, or at any District or Tehsil place, all arrangements were made in advance as regards ~~the selection~~ ~~place~~ places that could be most suitable for the public and disadvantageous to the police. ~~First~~ first-aid arrangements ~~easily~~ easy and available nearabout, were to be and rescue parties with that stood alert to remove the ~~more~~ seriously injured. The duration of the action was also well controlled. It could be 15 minutes or 30 minutes, whereafter all would be cool and calm. Similarly was the case with Tear gass use. If we decided that it should be in the Gasmandi Chowk at 5 P.M. on a certain day, that would be so then and there and not in the City Chowk, or any other place. All this gave us the upper hand advantage to ~~make necessary~~ arrangements ~~as regards~~ Water in plenty at hand, and ~~wet~~ were to be with people ~~extinguish~~ pieces of cloth with the public, ~~to face the effects the gass emitting shells and~~ to extinguish gas emitting shells & to wash the eyes ~~with wet cloth to lessen~~ to lessen the intensity of the gass effects. The locality too had not to suffer ~~unawares~~ much being prepared well ~~well~~ likewise in advance.

V) The organization was well knit. No place was kept untouched. Workers and peoples at large were taken into confidence to discuss the programmes. The author I personally visited each and every place ~~to meet the~~ supervise & the shifting programmes, ~~to~~ enthuse the people and guide the workers. But my visits were quite short and surprising.

vi) Our publicity Department was quite effective ~~and~~ strong and No programme went unpublicised. Rejoinder to the Govt., statement ~~would be~~ was surprisingly prompt and effective. Once in an interview with L.P. Dhar, the then Deputy Miniter Home Affairs, along with Th. Baldevsingh and Shri Ved Gove Grover, at Srinagar, at Bhakshi Ghulam Mohd's residence,

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(the then Deputy Prime Minister), he particularly asked "how is it that your rejoinders are so prompt. where do you write them. They are so complete, to the point and quick to appear in the next issue of Indian papers. we wonder and appreciate your so well organized set up. how do you do all this, where and when. I replied : "Agitation is a complete ~~science and~~ art and a technique. The single minded devotion and selfless dedication to the cause unfolds the significance of the Art. Transparent mirror of the mind teaches me a lot, widens the intectual horizon and imparts marvelous strenth to face the challenges. I am many a time without shelter in the jungles and have to write statements in the light of wax candles, unlike your palatial buildings with dazzling lights".

vii) Successful functioning of the movement depended very much on those messngers who ran throughout the corner of the State and to Delhi and back, to keep all the ~~places~~ people well ~~posted~~ informed with ~~the~~ dsy to day developments. A good number of messengers, came from Ex-servicemen, who proved better dependable and hard enough, to be on legs, for most of the time, forgetting rest and sleep altoghter. RSS Organization also did commendable work in this respect, but they either under the influence of their Adhikaries or due to lack of understand -ing, sometimes lagged behind.

viii) From the inception of Satyagrah, on 6th Feb.1949, efforts made to ex contact people of all shades of opinion irrespective of the parties, they belonged to, in the name and of justice and fairplay, proved very useful. For instance, there were parties like peoples' party headed by Shri Nanakchand Khosla, the National Conference, which was the Ruling one, Hindu Mahasabha, Sanatan Dharam Sabha, Arya Samaj. Constant and heartiest contact with the local leaders of the aforesaid parties proved very useful. Some of them issued statements in support of the cause, a common

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one for all Dogras. I personally contacted many, many a time, to make the organization and the struggle broad-based with its doors open to all. Even literary persons of ability and name like L. Haveliram, the Retired Cheif Secretary, who had the honour to work with Sir, Ramaswami Iyyanger, the then Prime Minister, in the State, in Mahakaja Harisingh Regime, were brought very closer, and they contributed a lot in their way. For instance L. Haveli Ram, was ~~my~~ author's constitutional adviser. He always guided ~~me~~ him to his ~~utmost~~ best on political and legal aspects of the agitation. When underground, I ~~always~~ the author used sent ~~to~~ him at the dead of ~~time~~ night ~~but~~ he would nevdr feel disturbed ~~or embarrassed to~~ and happily entertained and help ~~me~~ him for hours together till I left. This all helped the cause a lot, and gave it an all embracing character.

The popularity of the ever growing movement despite all sort of repression, lathi charges and untold ~~harships~~ brutalities meted to the Satyagrahies, became a matter of concern for Central Government. The myth of the Kashmiri leadership for its all supremacy, was being cut to size, with the galloping discontent, ment and distrust of the Jammu people against the Sheikh Government. The State Govt. itself did not feel easy with the state of affairs that were a constant headache to it, but its false prestige and arrogant attitude stood in the way. The unabetted struggle and the unrestricted use of force, forced us to issue a pamphlet purporting that Jammu People in face of step-motherly treatment and ~~in face of the~~ indignities showered on them, day in and day out, they would be ~~complex~~ compelled to demand either separation from Kashmir, as a ~~separate~~ Unit under the Central Administration, or be a part of Himachal. It was a feeler ~~but not a~~ only and not a definite and calculated decision. ~~z~~But the feeler gave a big jolt both to the Centre and the State Governments.

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The agitation in Jammu got good coverage in Indian Certain Press. The Parliament members too raised their voice in favour of it. Certain parties also decided to jump into the fray, if the Government did not take any action to pacify and satisfy the people of Jammu. The pressure brought upon from all sides, forced the Government of India, to move to study the whole affair, with cool and calculated mind.

So a deputaion, under the chairmanship of Shri Gopalaswami Iyyager, was sent to Jammu to meet the Parishad leaders for on spot study. The news of the delegation coming to Jammu perturbed the State Government very and it set its ~~machinery~~ machinations and manipulation machinary in action. Shri Neel Kanth Raina, who was the Cheif Emergency Officer, Jammu, then, was chosen to play a trick to defeat the purpose of the deputation, as its findings were ~~rightly felt~~ sure to prove detrimental to their designs and policies. Shri Neel Kanth Raina, most clever and shrewd person, contacted Shri Nanda Ji in Jail, and used all the weapons in his armoury of untruth and foulplay, to demoralize Shri Nanda Ji. The deputation that arrived on the 27th Of August, 1949, was to meet Shri Nanda In Jail at 11 A.M. Shri N.K. Raina kept the news of the deputation coming to contact ~~him~~ Shri Nanda ji a guarded secret. He talked with Nandan Ji thus: I have come to you as your friend. I have all good wishes for you and your family. I cannot bear the sight of your being in prisoners uniform. God may have mercy on you. ~~With~~ all have all out sympathy, for you ~~rife~~ with your and career. The Praja Parishad people are emotional and void of political vision. Whatever wrong they have been doing must tell upon your and you only, and you shall have to rot in Jail for years together. I am very much worried about the future of your children. Just think, you in Jail, with all earning having gone to dogs what will become of your family. Niether the Centrael nor the state Government is going to be moved by this uncalled

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for and harmful struggle, as that runs counter to the basic policy of the Govt., of India, that believes in the unity of the state, at any cost, whereas the movement is conciously or unconciously, is creating a wedge in the regions that may result in disintegration of the state into so many parts. Therefore, I find little substance in it. Rather harmful implications involved in the further prolonggation of the agitation which is destined to fail in the end at a very heavy cost to you personally. I, being your well-wisher do not like that you should be a puppet in the hands of the si shortsighted, unreasonable and emotionmal communalists. I fail to understand how a man of your calibre, with penetrating vision, knowledge and ability, par-excellent and lucurative practice, has beenchosen to become a target of the Governme-nt-of-the Government, which is so strong and popular that no power on earth can shake it. What to speak of so, ujnoticed and weak wind that flows over its straight and steadfst head." Lastly Shri Raina he surpassed the stage actors of repute to break down with tears in his eyes and said: "Dear Nanda Ji, I cannot bear the sight of your being a prisoner with little hope to come out when the agitation outside is fizzling out and when hundres of satyagrahies have been tendering apology Noticing the effects of his tricky manupolations have done job, He applied the desired arrow, saying I am at your disposal. You can count upon and confide in me. If you are prepared to reconsider dispassionately all that has entrapped you, I can try to prevail upon the Government to see you free, to enjoy peaceful and confortable life, which is a great stake otherwise".

This was enough to change, weaken and pull down so simple, kind-hearted and would-be-believing man. The flow of double-mindedness ebbed in no time. He felt the picture presented by N.K. Raina was doubtlessly correct.

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anes
antata that there was force and truth in it. Shri Raina took
out
ouccet a typed statement from his pocket already kept ready
en
and placed it bfore Shri Nanda for his so dexterly sought
signature, the moment, he (Shri Raina) detected Shri Nanda
engrossed in serious after-thought. After a pause he signed
the statement, even without talking the matter with his own
confidents in the Jail, ~~with him~~.

Thus Shri Raina succeeded in his nefarious design to kill two birds with one stone. He caught got the head cut off from the body as he felt and drove ran atonce to the place the deputationists were staying in, to break the news that the agitation President of the organization has had tendered an apology, condemned the agitation as strengthening ~~the hands~~ of Pakistan/ Pak hands and expressed his disassociation with the unsound and harmful activities that did not favour the interests of the country. He pleaded with them further, ~~that~~ the movement was on its last breath. ~~and that~~ you would see it fizzling ~~fizzled~~ out, in a few days as Hundreds of Satyagrahies have had ~~have been~~ were also coming out, and the remaining few will would follow Smt. ~~Shri Nanda's release~~. The ruling clique both, in the Centre and the State were jubilant to have had dealt a death-blow to the struggle, that had shaken the Sheikh Government. The statement got issued read:

" I have learned with extreme pain and regret that for some time past, the situation in Jammu has been exploited by certain anti-social elements with a view to disturbing the peace and tranquillity of our country. I am conscious of the fact that the activities of this anti-social section of the people do not serve any one except the ends of our enemy , Pakistan, and it is a great pity that some interested quarters both inside and outside the State, have used this occasion to indulge in a campaign of malicious lies against the State. I strongly oppose such activities. At a ~~moment when~~ this moment we need all our united strength to face the numerous problems confronting us. Such actions to any honest mind will necessarily appear insane and anti-social.

" I have pondered over the situation and have painfully realized that the lack of proper appreciation of the conditions, has unfortunately made us ~~we~~ react ourselves with these actions

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In these circumstances I do not want to be merely an idle spectator of these circumstance- unfortunate events but want to contribute my humble share to the determined effort made by an ocershelming section of Jammu to isolate these mischievous elements and thereby promote the cause of peace".

This statement of Shri Rupchand Nanda got widest publicity all over the country. The members of the organization, people at large whether in or outside all falt concerned and pained and agitated. Hurried camera meetings were called all over the region for further course of action. Nanda Sahib was contacted by the author at his place at mid night on 2nd September, 1949 and a contradiction to the effect that the movement had not been called off by him and that all news in the papers-Press, all over the country, to the effect were wrong and baseless was issued to the press telegraphically. Previous to it, the author foiled the attempt of the Govdrnment, by issuing a prompt statement to the effect: The Praja Parishad is not bound to share the views of the-Ge Shri Nanda. He simpleton and straightforward person, has been duped and misguided by a clever Jagldr, as S.A.Raina is. Whatever Nanda has stated is not what he felt, but what he has been made to to feel behind bars. At the most, it his personal feeling, with the least bearing on the peoples' struggle, who are out. to expose the nefarious, discriminatory and anti-India policies of Sheikh Abdullah at whatever cost possible. The withdrawal of the Movement is not possible without consultation with the Working Committee members, most of whom are already in Jail. Above all, as long as the movement is there, no person in his individual capacity, can call off the struggle, when the author has been appointed dictator to conduct its functing. Likewise this statement also govt apreciable coverage in the Indian Press, to redeem the depression, caused by the Nanda's statement to a considerable effect but At the same time it is a fact that it did play its damaging role to spread demoralization and misunderding sufficient excuse, to weaker ones, to lean upon.

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As per decision of the Action Committee, the author wrote a letter to Shri Nanda ji to explain the following points in the light of his letter written to Shri Bakshi Ghulam Mohd, the then Deputy Prime Minister: (The letter got good publicity in the papers dated 7th September, 1949).

" Is it not unconstitutional on your part to have written the letter to the Deputy Prime Minister of the State that had an adverse effect on the agitation and created mis-understanding? There are certain doubtful things in your letter that havd clouded the atmosphere, with misgimings. So is it not essestial, on your part to issue an explanatory statement, to clear your position ? In case you fail to give satisfactory explanation, disciplinary action will be taken against you forthwith.

The clouds of depression and demoralization cast by Shri Nanda's apologising letter were soon cleared with the Sun of determination and brightly again the pace of the satyagrah was not in any way kept intact not only as usual but rather intensified. Shri Ludharmani Sangra, a well known person, from village Kuta, in Hiranagar Tehsil, was chosen to be the President of the organization, in place of Shri Nanda ji. He was soon after arrested on 4th September 1949, from his village under section 3 of the Defence Act. His son, Shri Om Prakash, was already in detention under the same Act. On 7th September 1949, Shri Jagdish Dutt Sawhny, a prominent youngman lead a batch of Satyagrahies that included among others, Th. Jagdishsingh of Samba, Shri Ved Mitter and Shri Devraj Ji of Jammu. They offered themselves for arrest at Purani Mandi, addressed the audience, cleared the position of the agitation, vis-a-vis Shri Nanda's release, abd raised the morale of the public by declaring that the satyagrah will would continue unabetted, till the demands were accepted the demands. On 2nd September, 1949, the Satyagrahies in Jammu Jail resorted to hunger strike as a mark of the solidarity with the intensification of the Andolan

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On 5th of September, Th. Jagbirsingh and Shri Premnath two prominent figures of the town offered Satyagrah in Samba. Hither to a spectator, Jagbirsingh told the audience that the Government being bitterly against Dogras, their culture, their democratic rights and their legitimate aspirations, he had been called upon by his conscience to come forward to vindicate the honour of the ~~self-~~ self-respecting valiant nation, the Dogras are.

The editorial by Shri Yash in Milap dated 5th Sept.1949, and a news item in "VIRBHARAT" of the same date, corroborate the fact that Andolan did go on even after Shri Nanda's statement which made no mention of the withdrawal of the movement. It was a blatent lie on the part of the press to air the news that Shri Nanda has called off Satyagrah.

"VIRBHARAT" reported on 5.9.1949, that a newsitem in a paper of Dehli, that "Praja Parishad had withdrawn the struggle was baseless. There was no decision as yet." Earlier, the General Secretary too had made it clear that the agitation has not been called off."

Milap 5th Sept.1949: Editorial.

"With the release of the President Praja Parishad, Shri Rupchand Nandan, there was also a news that Parishad has called ~~ex~~ed off the Andolan. I had expressed my satisfaction, while commenting upon its, but now a telegram from Shri Nanda has been received, saying that, they have not withdrawn the struggle. A statement by the General Secretary, Shri Durga Dass Varma, that the right to withdraw the satyagrah vests not with the President, but the Working Committee, has cleared the clouds of falsehood. I am not ignorant of the problems that Jammu people are faced with, but as a matter of expediency, no Andolan of the sort, should be ~~taken resort to~~ allowed to divert the attention of the Government from other important matters. I am happy to know that Parishad people accept ~~this point of view~~, that nothing

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should be done at this crucial hour to add to the worries of the Government. I am confident taken if the J & K Govt., take these people into confidence, and create a favourably congenial atmosphere, the problem can be solved. If the people are duty-bound to cooperate with the Government to the utmost, the Government is also required to create a favourable climate without delay by releasing all the Satyagrahies and afford them an opportunity to serve their motherland. If it is true that the Government cannot be cowed down, it is also a hard fact that no amount of brute force can crush anybody. People can be ruled with love and affection, and with love and affection only we can won each other.

In the meanwhile, efforts were being made here and there at Delhi now best to arrange the withdrawal of the Andolan both on Government and Organizational levels. Message from Delhi assured us, that the State Government was prepared to come to terms with the Parishad Leadership and win over their confidence. The deputation consisting of Shri Mauli Chandar Sharma, President of the Janadhikar Samiti, as its Chairman, Two members of the Vidhan Parishad, Shri Khadekar and Shri Bhatkar, was the culmination of all those many sided efforts aimed at persuading the Parishad Leadership to call off the movement, in order to give opportunity to the Government, to mend its behaviour and policies, harmful to the interest of the country at large.

I along with my colleagues still outside Jail, met Shri Mauli Chandar and other memebers of the deputation after their arrival from Srinagar, on 5th Sept. 1949, at 10 P.M. at Jammu Dak Bungulow. The discussion, was threadbare. and they realized out view point and apprehensions especailly about seccenist policies of the Sheikh. But no decision could be taken on that day, as more discussion on

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part was considered ~~to be~~ essentional. In the meanwhile Shri Mouli Chandar held a Press Conference, in Jammu, that appeared in the papers ~~dated~~ 6th Sept. 1949, as below:-

"I, along with my collegues, members of the Assembly Mr. Khadekar and Mr. Bhatkar, have toured the State at large. we visited Srinagar also. we met Sheikh Abdullah, B. Ghulam Mohd and other officers and talked with leaders of the different political parties. We do not want to say anything about the merits and demerits of the agitation, but we feel that the sort of the agiatation being run, is not in the interest of the State. The State being a battle field yet, the internal unity and strength is essential. As such, we feel that the Parishad should call off its Andolan. So far as we feel, the Government does not intend to be revengful and has started releasing the agitators. We are glad to feel that Parishad is ready to call off its Andolan. Parishad is expected to issue a separate declaration in this connection.

Daily Milap in its issue dated 7th Sept. 1949, edited & reported "Shri Mouli Chandar Sharma 's 'Mashwara' as below:-

"Shri Mouli Chandar Sharma, President of the Janadhikar Samiti had gone to Jammu along-with accompanied by two companions, Shri Khandekar and Shri Bhatkar, members of the Vidhan Sabha Parishad. After their full assessment of the situation in the State, they have tendered their 'Mashwara' to the Parishad Leadership to call off the Andolan. Sharma also said that at this time the paramount need of the hour was to strengthen the internal forces. No body is at variance with the advice given by Mr. Sharma. Parishad Leadership itself is wide awake enough to realize the necessity of the internal unity, so it is expected that the agitation will be called off. to mean that Parishad will do their duty. On this occasion, it is not proper to expect that from the Government that it

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to apprehend that the Government would stick to its repressive and revengeful policies. Rather it would release all the satyagrahis unconditionally and create congenial atmosphere leaving no scope for the least resentment.

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STAY AT SHRI ANANTSINGH'S HOUSE

An interesting underground experience and goldly heir-breadth escape in 1953 agitation.

In the month of Feb. 1953, I stayed with one Shri Anantsingh at village Chhadhi, north of Kalu Chak, for three days against my principles, as I would not stay anywhere more than few hours, that too at night. Mr. Anantsingh, was an employee in the MES at Satwari. One morning at 9A.M., while I was giving dictation to one of my most devout and intellegent office bearers, named Shri Dhayansingh of Gurrah Salathya, in Samba Tehsil, now M.L.A., for a poster to be issued soon, I felt uneasiness, as was usual with me whenever any danger or calamity was likely to occur in the nearest future, to forewarn me to leave the place. This inner voice or God's grace, whatever one may call it, stirred my body and soul and came the clear picture of the impending danger. The dictation was stopped, papers were packed up and we three - Shri Dhayansingh, Shri Bodhraj and myself, got ready in no time. Shri Bodhraj used to keep record. He was very hard and dedicated worker. He used to move with me 30 kg. back either on his head or shoulder from place to place and proved to be a most indispensable link between the different sections that ran the agitation and myself both the companions were wonderstruck were to learn about the approaching danger and the decision to move away in the day light against my usual practice of moving out in the night, but obedient and loyal as they were they did not question the propriety or otherwise of that hurried decision. In the meanwhile, Shri Anantsingh's small daughter was called by Shri Bodhraj to convey that were leaving the place, to her mother as Shri Anantsingh had left for his office by then. The house was commodious enough with a spacious courtyard in between the two sets of rooms. The inner rooms were occupied by the family and the outer two meant by for the cattle was occupied by us. To our departure message, Shri Anantsingh's

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wife gave back the message: " You are leaving because the meals being served are not upto your taste. Being poor, we you people do not like to live with us. Please do stay for the morning meal, which is under preparation." It may be mentioned that generally ladies and children did not know our identity and were considered as guests of the family by them for secrity purposes. I would further like to make mention of the fact that Anant Singh's family was poor one living with hands to mount almost the ounly source of income being what he earned by way of his salary. His father was a National Conferencite, and was not on good terms with his son - Anantsingh - as both had a poles asunder nature. Shri Anantsingh did not like drinking habits of his father. Neither the workers were concisious nor I knew that we were putting up at so dangerous a place, where we could be caught anytime by a tip likely to be given to the Police by Shri Anantsingh's father unawares. Actually he had been very much after our arrest the day we arrived there and had layed down a sound and complete plan to get us caught in the light of the fact came to notice afterwards and narrated hereafter.

We were between two worlds. The soundings of the fast approaching danger could spare no time. The feelings of inferiority complex because of their poverty felt by Shri Anantsingh's wife and her the family's respect and regard for us brought tears in our eyes. As we did not like gh to have the stigma of being unkind to the family for tomed of good meals, we decided to leave after the meals r un- ed to be prepared soon with a prayer to God to wa. Hen danger for some time. It took an honour and a tng dang- a half more. Moving out in the broad-day-light ugh was a strage, novel, and the first and the last on experience of my five years' underground life. It could not be without risk but the greater risk that followed later, inspired and goaded us to face the former

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The place
holday. We left the that did prove dangerous as would be
learnt The author next
read later on. at 12 Noon. I did not tell the companions our
destination. that was Raipur in Jammu Tehsil. We made our way
through Sujamwan village in Samba Tehsil. The people in the
way were suspicious to notice unfamiliar faces and our strange
paces away from the usual paths called "Puch Dandies" unmindful
of bushes
bushes, thorns and unsteady terrain, the direction of the desti-
was
nation being the only guide. But the suspicion of the suspi-
cious ones could not deter us the least, as we were the fearless
lot and We were confident, that our identity if made out would
aware, leaked
encounter
result in
prove more dreadful and in case of encounter still disasterous.
At 5 P.M. we reached the River Tawi near Majheen village on
to
the opposite of Water works, Jammu. To our surprise, the river
flood
had been in food that slowed down to some extent by then but
still
not accessable yet. The dusk was fast approaching . Retreat
risky
that could mar the spirits and prove still dangerous, was not
allowed to have its roots in minds. The only alternative was
to swim across. The challenge was great and the odd alarming
sense The trio
to test our mettle, determination and sneese of purpose. We all
three accepted the trying situation with a faith on the Al-
All their
mighty and His benediction and put off our clothes. Shree
swimming
Dayansingh, a tall well-built fellow with good simming exper-
called
ience, was asked to swim across first of all, in orddr to
assuage the depth and fury of the receding flood waters,
others
empty handed to ease the problem for us. Shree Dayansingh
Jumped in, like a shot out of the gun, but being unaccostomed
TAWI
to swim in the dangerous waters of Tawi, felt the flow un-
return
fathamable, made an equally speedy back run to be out. Hen
oppose the
succumbed to his weekness, rather than to the opposing dang-
the tidal waves
erous waters. A little more courage could see him through
the author the
assuredly. Then I took the challenge, girded by loin and
jumped in but the water being very deep at that specific
point, he also felt like being driven away by the waters
and struggled hard to retreat. That place being considered

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unsafe, we marched upward along the bank in search of a better place, where the waters could be less furious and deep, for easy cross. In the process we covered more than a mile's distance, and got our decision got our vision blared with the setting in of the dusk and bodies numbed being exposed to the cool wintery winds on the river side, in the of Feb, But dare-devils as we were could not be cowed down by ever growing challenges, pregnent with dreadful risks. At last a place was selected. Here the water followed faster and thunderous the passage being rocky and boulderous. But the depth was upto our shoulders deep. First of all, I swam across but walk at points with little depth was more dangerous with slippering stones beneath giving a fatal fall at every step. Crosseing back, Shri Dayansingh was escorted across to be followed by Bodhraj - a man of short stature. He had a tough time as water at places flowed over his head and he experienced like drowning in the fourth crossing I managed to take across all the clothes, record and defencive material. Although the destination was still far off and fraught with certain challenges but they could not of the magnitude we faced already. We thanked the Almighty for the courage and determination He inspired us with to climb over the odds so cheerfuly. A distance of about 8 miles full of thick forest infested with wild animals, thorney and rocky areas, without any footpath even ever known to us, lay before us. We were feeling the pangs of hunger after so ardous and long journey, but had nothing to eat except the air to inhale. The impact of severe cold had played no little role to freeze our blood to the whole But the inspiration of a higher cause and noble purpose proved to be more nutricious and hober diet to enable us to shorten the distance with mercile strides through the hills, Nallahas, and rough and stony fields. or

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At dead of night we reached Rapur, a most secure and hospitable place. The people and workers of the place came to know our arrival there and served us meals at 3 A.M. at night. The next morning when I was busy with my routine of writing, a messanger from Jammu came to convey that one Anant Singh, an employee in the MES resident of Choadhi village, in Samba Tehsil, had been arrested in the Court, where he had been in connection with a legal case, the previous day at 10 A.M.. This Anantsingh was the same person we were putting up with. Anybody can say anything, but the arrest of the person and the inkling of the approaching danger could never be a coincidence. The sequence of events and the reasons of such an unknown person coming from a remote village did suggest soundly that Shri Anantsingh's arrest in the Court was not at all in connection with the case as that still awaited decision but was a well calculated and pre-planned affair. It was a conspiracy between Anantsingh's and father and the administration who had come to know about my hideout . The father wanted to kill two stones birds with one stone. In the first place he intended to take revenge against his son for his strained relations with him and secondly to get me arrested in his village to earn name, prize and fame. It was the father's suggestion that the son, Anantsingh, was arrested without any apparent any name or reason. But the Providence played His marvelous part and only one bird could be killed as He, the disposer, had written off what was proposed by mortal beings. The house was raided by the Police at 3 P.M. on the day I fled away three hours earlier to get highly disappointed to find that the second bird had long since flown to some other unknown place at the hint of the Supreme Power over the universe

The people and the workers were quite ignorant

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of all this incident until Shri Anantsingh, in Police Custody, being taken to City Thanan, raised slogans like Paraja Parishad Zindabad, Pt. Premnath Zindabad, Sheikh Abdullah regime Murdabad. As a result a huge procession was formed after him. He delivered a most stirring speech in City Chowk and proved a good shot in the Parishad 's armoury. As I came to know later on, both Anantsingh and the Police were worried very much for different ends. While the police surrounded the Singh very thickly, so that he might not be able to talk ~~divulge convey his a~~ to any of ~~the persons~~ to inform me about his arrest, with a suggestion to slip away. Anantsingh was likewise felt perturbed for my would be sure short arrest and tried his best to find an opportunity to convey the message of his arrest to me. The Supreme force stirred the telepathy and exactly an hour earlier to the Singh's arrest, I felt the danger to loom largely in the immediate future, with a suggestion to leave the place atonce.

Again after passing the day with a busy schedule - Held meetings of the hard core, met the people of the place, assessed the situation, wrote rejoinders to the Government statements - I had an inner voice to leave the place, Raipur, the same being not secure. In the evening I moved down to the area below Ranbir Canal, in Tehsil Jammu.. The day was passed outside the villages in fields surounded by thick trees. Meetings of the workers from different villages were held, people were contacted and future programme for the workers of the place was framed to intensify the movement. The day was so busy that I got tired and unfortunately the absence of meals too told upon heavily there being no village near the placed we camped at. In the morning a message came that the place where I used to stay in Raipur had been target of the Police the previous night and certain things had been taken away by the Police.

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Prominent among the workers those who came to see me at the author
Raipur were, Shri Shiv Charan Gupta of Udhampur, now M.L.A. and Hon'ble
Shri Hansraj Gupta of Ramnagar, now an Advocate of the place.
They having had not been able to meet him at the place of hide-
out, decided to put up there for the night. But At 2 A.M.
in the morning, a Police party of 80 raided the place. The
watchmen were alert enough to ward off the arrest of these
persons. They ran away empty handed to safety before the police reached
the ~~point~~ place. ~~empty handed with whatever was~~ their bodies, al-
~~most in shirts and pyjamas.~~ Their other clothings, warm shirts,
~~coat~~ coats and duping uniforms with bags of papers and eata-
bles ~~that they could not carry~~ were taken away by the police
along with a big Durrie that I had in the room. The hideout
were
was a place with Kachcha rooms, where the cattle used to be
kept at night. It was just opposit Raipur village on a hill
on the east
with a big Nallah in between. The ~~police~~ place was quite
safe, as it overlooked all sides especially the road that was
a km. away at a low level. The Police failed again to nap the
author
and not a single paper of the record could fall in their
hands, as the whole of my office always moved along with him.
The Police deserved appreciation for locating the place
where I had moved into, the previous night, but got disappoint-
not
ed to find me out.

To link the previous narration, after days long and
the trio
hard work, We moved to village, Ghumanhasan, which was almost
synonymous
synonymas of a prominent strong person called Kaka Manhas.
The manhas was over joyed to find us among the villagers.
He
and ordered his house inmates to prepare delivious meet
The Party
dishes for the party of four. ~~We did not enter into the~~
~~village and~~ preferred to camp at a marshy nallah outside
from the village
~~it~~ about a kilometer away ~~in the open~~ for security reasons.
Manhas in without having
~~The~~ Manhas talked ~~with in the~~ dark night ~~that did not~~
even
give glimpse of each other's faces. In the meanshile, two

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heavily drunk persons who had left on a tonga about 45 minutes earlier, before eyes in a jovial mood came back in the same tonga and ran towards the Party, out of breath, in surpriselingly serious but alert condition, as if they had not taken anything like country liquor, to set them off their feet, as they were actually earlier, to convey that a good number of police was fast approaching from the east, north and west side of the village in an arch shaped formation, to encircle the village, and they were within two miles distance. The party we did not loose heart and quite cooly and calmly planned the stragy to meet the third successive challenge of the police. As suggested to Kaka Manahas, very simple meals - Khichri - was got prepared, forsaking the delicious dishes of meet, and a black horse gentle to be gentle, brave and strong was also provided enough, requested to be for the author within minutes. On enquiry it was found that the Akhnur side in the west was not under police heals. Still some experts were sent on hourses to ascertain the fact and workers were detailed on all sides to guard till the party took our meals. All these multiferious arrangements were got executed simultaneously with examplary speed. The destination, before was Kot Bhalwal village, about 8 miles away and was kept secret. I jumped on the back of the horse, brought for the purpose, after necessary instructions to the workers. The area being quite familiar to me and the faithful horse, under the author, I did not experience any trouble in driving. First I took -- the horse was galloped straight towards south. From a point where and then when found that the village Kot Bhalwal was exactly at 90 degree angle, the horse was directed exactly towards exact north and crossed the Jakku Akhnur Road in thirty five minutes. and in another 15 minutes after time reached the village, without the least trouble, or any hindrance althrough the way. The other morning, the very first news that received to me was that the village Ghumanahasar was raided by the 300 hundred well armed police force just after I left the place miraculously, surrounded the whole village and made fervent search to catch the author and threatened the villagers with dire consequences. Still hold of the author and threatened

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the villagers with dire consequences for non-cooperation with the police and in the end were again dejected to realize their failure in laying their dirty hands on me.

As stated above, all these three successive raids on consecutive days were the result of well-planned and strategy. The informers, maybe, the locals or the C.I.D. did their job marvellously accurately. They were after me exactly like a shadow. A little carelessness or lethargy on my part would have afforded the police an opportunity to arrest me unawares. Otherwise it was well known that hell would befall at least on those who would dare to catch hold me as I had openly proclaimed that I could never fall in the hands of the police alive and would prefer death in encounter than to languish in Jail for an indefinite period with all consequent torture.

It is worth mentioning who those two heavily drunk persons were who noticed the police and apprehended my arrest. They were not our workers but belonged to National Conference. Our work and sacrifices had impressed them very much and in their inner heart they had great sympathy with the cause the Praja Parishad had been fighting for. They had taken wine in the company of their friends outside the village just two hours earlier to our arrival on the bank of the marshy riverlet that flowed outside village Chuamanhasan. I would have been really in danger but for their timely information. Their services at the crucial hour, when they themselves had lost their both mental and physical balance due to heavy drinking cannot be forgotten for frustrating the evil designs and well-laid strategy of the police.

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New Chapter -42

RELEASE OF SHRI PANDIT PREMNATH JI IN 1949.

1. During their detention in 1949, Pandit Premnath along with Pt. Shamlal, Shivnath Nanda, Shiv Ram Gupta and Th. Dhanantar Singh were taken to Srinagar Jail. After the withdrawal of Satyagrah, after two weeks time, one morning we learnt that Pandit Ji had been released yesterday. Workers were very happy when the news was got confirmed on Telephone from Shri Girdharilal Dogra, the then Finance Minister . but felt annoyed to further learn that Pandit Ji had been staying with The Dogra, who is closely related to them. The intense resentment in workers meeting at Pandit Ji 's place, result in my flight to Srinagar the same day in order to apprise Pandit Ji about the excitement and the resentment the workers had been feeling since they had learnt about his stay with the Dogra.

I reached Amirankadal at 5 P.M. to arrange accommodation. To go to Shri Dogra's place to meet Pandit Ji was to act against my conscience and to play with the feelings of the workers, so I was in a fix where and how to contact the Panditji By God's grace the ticklish probelem - diahard and fanatic as we were - found a solution so easily at hand. Pandit Ji was on his round in Amirakadal to enjoy the outsi air and atmosphere outside prison which had a new charm ar pleasure after long confinement . we came face to face ju near the red square, Lal Chowk. The affection and regard flooded m eyes with tears and bowed me to touch his feet. It all stirr ed his likewise affection and love for the author and drench ed his eyes with tears. He hugged me for a minute and expressed his great joy and satisfaction ~~over the performane of successful Andolan~~ for the success of the Andolan, and appreciated the author's role to the core and cheered and encouraged me more and more. I frankly told him that the workers and the people who have come to know that you had been putting up with the Dogra feel highly enraged and annoyed.

too had shared the feeling of the workers in no less degree. ne liked that Parja Parishad leadership should stay with e oppressors who had let loose reign of terror was fully xplained to the Pandit with a further stress that the wishes of the people should be given due regard and weight. Pandit Ji pleaded: "You know GirMharilal Dogra is my close relative. he came to me in Jail and requested me to accompany to his place. I could not say no and agreed to be driven to his residence" I do not find any harm to my organization by simply staying with a relative. " I submitted: Pandit Ji press you represent the oppressed people with no liberty of speech and plateform and without any democratic rights to enjoy. You are fightingagainst the rulers sided by the Dogra who are out to crush and denigrate ~~Dogras.~~ our agitation. We are fighting blood against the separatist forces that are out to squeeze Indian to build a New Kashmir. We are ~~equality~~ fighting for equality, fair play and justice denied by the rulers includi Girmarilal Dogra. Hence it weakens our cause and blunts the ~~edge~~, edge the spirit and the pledge nursed with sarifices and blood. Your image of a leader is above your relation. we do not like it tarnished in personal affectional narrowness." My all pleading and prayers , though convinced him enough, but he could not re-trace steps that had been taken. Affection and closeness with the Dogra was Pandit Ji's grea weakness that he could never overcome. His almost order to me to stay with him at the Dogra's residence was defied with vehmence and pride though I kept up the promise to see him daily at the place and used to accompany him in the morning walk. I had my own board and lodging arragemmants with friends and well-wishers of which there was no dearth. dearth. After a week's stay with the Dogra, Pandit left for Jammu. How and to what extent the Parishad suffered because of this close relation is a tragic story to appear in a separate chapter.

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SHRI MELA RAM, THE MARTYER, DEAD BODY Brought to Jammu.

The most courageous and daring action in the struggle was the bringing of Shri Mela Ram's dead body for cremation in Jammu City. As is well known, Shri Melaram, fell victim to police firing at Sundarbani, while leading a peaceful protest march on . The situation was very tense and it was not an easy task to bring the dead body in Jammu City as planned when the Police force in hundreds had overcast the place with sections 144 ~~and section~~ 56 in force. Any leakage, expected in such circumstances, could frustrate our efforts and entail further arrests and torture. Few persons were taken into confidence to execute the programme by hoodwinking both the Police and the public. A truck was engaged and placed at a far off place. The people were asked to disperse with the announcement that funeral would take place next ~~at~~ day. The room where the body was placed was locked in the presence of the public and even the relatives of Shri Melaram were asked to leave the place saying : "Shri Melaram has risen to great heights. He is the proud son of the soil ~~He Has established his relation with~~ the people ~~of the region~~ and with the martyers ~~of~~ the country as a whole. He has countless fathers and mothers, sisters and brothers, ~~uncles and aunts sons and daughters.~~ The whole region has been sharing the grief and consoling ~~you with~~ this relatives prayers for the departed soul ~~forget~~ peace in heaven".

At dead of night when there was none around the place, the body was removed to a certain place in a Jungle in a nice bag packing that could be carried by a single person. In turn by turn the four persons ~~that--thd-~~ who moved ahead or behind the person who carried the corpse on his back to feel and watch the path on all sides keeping complete silence using only certain gestures. The passage that was used was a well laid one with hedges on both sides fully covered our movement. The Truck was waiting at the appointed place.

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The Driver, named Kasturi Lal was very much in our confidence and himself offered to execute the job as desired, though it involved great risk. He was a brave and daring devil Sardar with great common sense and spirit sense of service.

Now the most baffling question was how and where to pla place the dead body in the truck so that it could escape the penetrating search by the Police likely to be conducted at any place generally and at the Akhnur Bridge particularly. The dead body was tied beanth the truck with electtic wires at I R.M. The journey upto Akhnur was covered within 3 hours. At four A.M. it rdached at the head of the bridge and before it could be halted for checking by guards on duty, the Sardar halted it himself and asked the guards for permission to cross over. As in th e meanwhile, a word from authorities at Sundarbani had been aired that every vehicle must be subjected to through search as the missing dead body of Shri Melaram was apprehended to have had been driven to Jammu. But the presence of mind of the driver in halting and asking for the permission made the authorities less doubtful and they checked the inside of empty the truck, asked certain questions pertaining to th e particular incidence and let the truck cross over the bridge without dreaming that the thing they were in search of was being carried in that very truck It reached Jammu at 5-30, the body was untied anxd placed at a secret and secure place in Kachi Chowni Chowk. The workers and the people in the City also did not know that such marvellous feat had been performed. Soon a word had gone into the workers and public to asemble at Kachchi Chouni for a certain programme at ' A.M. The authorities could not imagine that a crucial and most sensational hour had been approaching so fast. The plan was so secret and well laid and well-timed that both the people and the dead body were at the appointed place quite exact at the fixed time.

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In face of the thousands of people already gathered at the said chowk, the police acted wisely not to interfere so that the situation might not become still explosive to go out of control. As the news travelled, so the people travelled in hundreds to take part in the funeral procession on its way to Shamshan Ghat, Cremation ground. Many got furious and violent and absued the authorities and the Police where they were sighted. But speeches at different places composed the public to remain peaceful and non-violent so essential at the hour. The funeral procession surpoassed all the previous records in public gatherings, with record discipline and required seriousness. The whole of Jammu and people from the adjoining places had serged on the cremation place to pay homage to their martyer, who had laid his precious life for the cause of the country at large. The young and old, both ladies and gents and children also not lagging behind, ~~anybody~~, vied with ~~one~~ each another in demonstrating their strength and ~~enthusiam~~ enthusiasm in voicing their resentment. The sea of mourners vended its way from Kachchi Chowni, Moti Bazar, Jain Bazar, Pirmitha, Kanak Mandi, Raghunath Bazar and Dense Gate to "~~Shamshan Ghat~~ Cremation place Ghat slowly and orderly, some wept and others expressed their anger in shouting anti-Abdullah slogans. The body was cremated with befitting honours and glowing tributes were paid to the departed leader in funeral at the Ghat.

As a result, the Authorities and the police were heard saying that ~~that feat~~ this deed of the Praja Parishad had been par-excellence. In hearts they accepted their crushing and ~~soul destroying~~ terrible defeat and praised our courage, sense of purpose and alertness. The action had shaken their morale, cast doubt on their efficacy and humiliated them in the eyes of the public

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Meeting with Venerable Dr. Mukerjee at Delhi.

During the 1953 historical struggle, thr author was asked by the Dr. Mukerjee to see him at Delhi for discussion of certain important matters. The Police being hotly after, he could not take the risk to travel by Bus. On 3rd of April 1953, Motorcycle was driven recklessly at an average of 80 ~~miles~~ Kms per hr. and reached River Ravi two miles south of Lakhanpur Checkpost in about ~~half an hour~~ record time. Just near the bank, at the sight of Police deputed to catch hold the author, the bodyguard became unnerved. In villagers dress with a long Lathi on his shoulders, he posed as a Kisan in search of cattle grazing in the field. With usual cool and calm at the time of crisis and without the least expression of fear or alarm, he was just face to face with the Police across a little offshoot of Ravi. He pulled his Lacha' up and moved into the water in front of the Police party of twenty, armed with rifles and Lathies that vied with the size of the weilders ~~with~~ of six ft. height. His well composed , fearless and balanced movement did not create the least doubt about him. He even talked to them leisurly and to an enquiry about the purpose of their patrolling so early in the morning, they said" One Durgadass Varma the dictator of the movement being hunted so hotly in and outside the Sate, is reported to cross the river today or tomorrow any time for his journey to Delhi. We are confident to catch ~~entrap~~ him if he crosses the river. There are three other groups deployed over the area." It further cautioned the author and sharpened his vision. He told them: " He is a dare devil, remains well armed and never moves in day light. He is always protected by well trained dying squad, which covers his shadow even. Thus dupping them, the author proceeded onward singing folk songs well versed in which he was from childhood.

The River Ravi always befriended the Author and afforded an easy ~~though~~ being a good swimmer he was cross. Traversing acroass, collected the brief kit from the bodyguard waiting on the road to Pathankot , hired a taxi to Gurudaspur wherefrom he boarded the train for Delhi and alighted at Subzimandi for safer escape

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from many an aspirant out to win a big prize of Rs. 25,000.00 set for his capture which was ~~made~~ ever enhanced to make it more attractive and alluring ~~with gradual increase~~.

On 4th April, 1953, the Author had to change 3 to 4 places in 14 hours in Delhi. The Police was ever on right track knowing well his presence in Delhi. It spurounded my hide-out only after he left ~~the~~ this.

A most important meeting with Dr. Mukerjee and other important leaders like Pt. Maulichandar Sharma, Shri Deendyal Upadhaya, the then General Secretaries, Shri Balraj Madhok, Shri Atal Behari Bajpai, Shri L.K. Advani, Shri Madhorao Mule RSS Authority, Bhai Mahaveer, Dr. N.C. Chatterjee and number of others, took place at 8 P.M. at Reverened Dr. Mukerjee's place. The first and the main topic was: "It is a unanimous decision that Dr. Mukerjee would cross into the State from Madhopur without a permit, then in vogue, and court arrest to focus attention on the embarrassing system, to infuse new spirit into and give a healthy turn to the movement prolonged by the uncomprising and arrogant attitude of the State Government openly patted by the Central Govt.

The refrain of the speeches made it clear that there was almost a consensus on the step proposed. The author thinking otherway, vehemently opposed the idea for the reason detailed below:

" In the first place, in my humble opinion , it is not advisable that Dr. Mukerjeee should court arrest in the remote corner of the country ~~not~~ because I do not hope the step will ~~not~~ have the desired impact. It will decidedly prove effective ~~no doubt~~. But Dr. Sahib's Satyagrah at Delhi - the capital of the country ~~thickly infested with~~ having foreign embassies and ~~diplomats~~ Consulates and a highly sensitive and nerve centre- will be far better for the desired purpose and effective. Here Dr. Sahib's arrest is sure to get better and wider publicity and ~~focus~~ invite the world attention on the issue". On Dr. Jee's persistent insistence to offer his arrest in the State, the author mustard courage to express his most horrible apprehension unreservedly:

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The other still ~~sounder reason is:~~ seasoned against the decision " I fear Dr. Sahib you will not be safe in the hands of the State Authorities who being devoid of human values cannot be trusted to behave properly even with the ~~lower~~ great personality like you." Dr. Ji asked: Can they play with my life ? How can they finish me ? It is not possible. They cannot be expected to stoop so low and degraded. Your apprehension is unfounded, imaginery and looks like a fiction born of bigoted mind. There is not a grain of reality in it." The author furthef expressed: " Our State Authorities are a of different ~~stock~~ mind set. They say one and do the other thing. Clause 370 is there to sheild them, coupled with P# Jawaharlal Jee's blessings. In you, Shree Nehru finds a capable rival of great caliber and Sheikh Sahib feels you to be a force, he illaffords to ignore. Both the Centre and the State rulers being bitterly opposed to the ongoing agitation will ~~on~~ no ~~account~~ spare the Lion of Bengal when they find you in their snare. You will outrightly be driven to Srinagar to debar any facility either of contact or communication with the outside world. The diet and the climate will not lag behind to be hostile. You will be lodged in complete isolation in a building unsuited to your health and taste, with delayed and ill-advised medical aid. Further scanty warm clothes and blankets coupled with uncooperative attendants, will cause bodily ills and mental torture. You will feel disturbed and uncomfortable all along. Inface of all this I submit with confidence and conviction born of Srinagar ~~Jails~~ experiences of that the "Indian Lion " will not be safe and secure in the brutal hands of ~~the Kashmir Lion~~ Sheikh Abdullah. As a result, the decision was reversed and Dr. Sahib was requested to court arrest in Delhi instead.

Shri Balraj Madhok was a towering personality in the Jan Sangh organization then. He was considered to be above all in Kashmir affairs. His word was a law. His superiority complex, short-temper , arrogance and shortsightedness proved instrumental in getting the clear cut and definite decision ~~again~~ reversed as he being the exponent of the proposal of Dr. Jee's entry into the

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State without permit, did not realize the warning expressed by the author to whom he always belittled like others. Above all the pride of sense blurred his vision. Hence Dr. Sahib crossed into the State with consequent arrest at Lakhanpur - the gateway to the State. Why all the leaders at Delhi bypassed and ignored the soundings so thoroughly explained and appreciated by them, is a mystry to the author who was not even informed of the reversal of the decision ., although the author was in overall command of the situation and was dictating the struggle after proper and thorough consultations with his collegues and the leaders at Delhi either through emisseries or by personal visits, whenever neccessitated. Respected Dr. Jee's arrest took place at II A.M. on ~~The~~ at Lakhanpur but the author learnt about the same at 6 P.M. as he was out of City, at his residence at Gurha Salathian on that fateful day ~~at Gurha Salathian~~, I9 miles away to the east of Jammu City. This surprisingly ~~deneging~~ Saddar news gave a rude shock to him. For a while he ~~did~~ not not believe and asked the messanger to produce a proof. He referred ~~to~~ certain well known persons who had seen Dr. Sahib in a Police Jeep ~~ever~~ crossing Tawi Bridge at 2 P.M. The fact was corrobrated by messangers from Kathua. Seized with restlessness and worry for Dr. Jee's insecure life, he at once hired a Bus and reached Jammu in a conductor's uniform. An emergent meeting of prominent workers still outside Jail was conducted firstly to know the details of arresst and secondly to ascertain the whereabouts of Dr. Jee's custody. But to his utter dismay and misfortune of the country at large Dr. Jee had since been driven past Batote by the time. The author had a plan either to get him released in lieu of his arrest or arrange Dr. Jee's freedom by force, even at the cost of his life in case he ~~would have been~~ was lodged in or near the City.

The author wept , beat his forehead and breast before the workers for the blunder committed by Delhi leaders saying: We have almost lost the battle as Dr. Jee would ~~ever~~ never be back among

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us alive . He is in the hands of ruthless and vengient rulers led by Sheikh Abdullah ~~the~~ pet of Shri Nehru." Two month detention was all that ended the great politician, a noble and illustrious son of the soil, a towering personality with all-embracing character, who commanded alround respect and was a class parliamentarian the like of whom country ~~very much~~ totally lacks to this day . The void caused has remained unbridged so far with little hope of its being filled in the foreseeable future."

His speeches generally in public and particularly ~~generally~~ in the parliament had a remarkable impact. There would be pin drop silence when the 'Bengal Lion' thundered. What an oration with wonderful argumentation in a commending tone ? Words flowed like spring water as saraswati itself ~~occupied him~~ was on his tongue. The house would be full whenever he was to speak to enjoy his speech which was profoundly cheered and applauded even from the Treasury benches. Even Pt. Jawarharlal with all his calibre ~~had~~ would not have an easy time in the House when faced with him. There are occasions when Pt. Ji begged his pardon for emotional and baseless utterances. With his presence, the House was so lively and interesting and won name and fame. He was Sun among the stars on the Treasry benches. All ~~the~~ expectations and hopes ~~chrished~~ crushed for a viable opposition to be reckoned with dashed to the ground with Dr. Jee's eternal sleep, ~~for years to come~~.

The mysterious circumstances of the irreparable loss to the nation - a matter of great concern and pain for ~~his~~ the generation in general and posterity in particular - forms a separate chapter.

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CONSTRUCTION OF AERODROME

At the time of Pakistan's first aggression on Jammu & Kashmir State in 1947, the Jammu Aerodrome was not fit to enable the big Aeroplanes to land upon. The times were crucial and the need for prompt defensive measures was too pressing to need mention. The atmosphere was so surcharged with tension and fear that the people were, panic stricken to the utmost, were fleeing in utter disorder to safe places of safety. The persuasion and restoration of confidence was an uphill task, as the people had rightly realized that Pakistan's evil designs and eye would be more concentated on Jammu than anywhere else in the State. The horrible state of affairs naturally created labour problem for the essential construction of the Aerodrome to the great embarrasment of the State Authorities and more of the Army Officers who carried the onerous duty to defend the State.

As a result, Shri Sheikh Mohd Abdulla, the then Cheif Minister, gave a most required and welcome call to the people to come forward to meet the dangerous situation by rendering voluntary service for making the Aerodrome serviceable as early as possible. Instantiously the call was welcomed to face the challenge fraught with risk and utmost hard work, resourcelessly. Within hours a task force comprising of 600 patriotic, devoted and selfless workers came to be rsised from the City. Funds were also collected and contributed by the people to purchase required implements - Kahrahies buckets, belchas, Kehies etc for cutting the thampulis and digging the trench line

The workers used to come up before 6 A.M. at the Parade Ground for a march to the Aerodrome on foot as no conveyance either from Govt., or private side could be available. Their was 14 hours hard-labour-day without

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but all worked
rest or shelter, without any grudge and murmuring, cheerfully, and dedicate
full of satisfaction and jubilation. As unexpected and fearlessly.
was no possibility of arranging meals at getting a place like
Aerodrome sounded by deserted file fields and villages the same
it was too much to expect from the milityry people alre awefully occupied in the life and death struggle. The
first day was totally mealess to make us wise enough.
Afterwards, would
Next time a bag of packed 'Chananss' was used to be
carried to the site to serve as meals for a period of every day.
30 days. One, Brigadier Franchpay, then on duty, direct-
ed and supervised the work being carried on so assiduous-
ly. He was all praise for the workers and patted the
author many a time by way of to express his appreciation and
gratitude.

The task force was consisted of young and old, rich
and poor, educated and illiterate, strong and weak, who
worked with zeal and burning passion like a team inspired
by ideals of service and sense of duty towards their beloved land.
Though not get used to handle impliments and buckets of
mud on their heads they worked as masters in the technique
without caring the least for the clothes and bodies getting
drenched in mud. Brigadier Franchpay was so kindly ever dusty
insisted to issue a certificate of appreciation, and satisfaction
which the author did not like to have say ing "We have done
our duty and it is no favour either to you or the country
we are bound to serve "with Passion".
The fact has been stated to inspire the posterity
so that they may not be found wanting whenever the sky is cast
any sacri- with dreadful clouds to protect
fice is to be made for the cause of the country from evil
designe of the enemy.

The ground was to level & give it easily with wild growth abound. The workers would get drenched in sweat but nothing deterred them. So high were their spirits. The marching to and from Camp from Aerodrome on foot at odd hours was highly Commended by the Brigadier Franchpay who ever insisted for it.

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Unceremonious end of the struggle of 1953

After Dr. Ji's mysterious and tragic death in Kashmir, the Jan Sangh leaders in Dehli developed a double mind more for the end of the struggle. I cannot say for certain what prompted them to think on these terms. Either they were approached by the Government or they had become weary of the long drawn fight. However, the decision was taken in consultation with Pt. Premnath who escorted the dead body of Dr. Ji to Jullundar, without caring to call me who had been assigned the duty to run the movement with full powers. To my and workers' surprise, big posters in different colours were sent to Jammu and got pasted on the City walls that called off the struggle for the time being till Kriya ceremony of Dr. Ji. Discussion with workers concluded that the agitation should be suspended as after the death of Dr. Mukerjee it had become still essential as it was worthwhile to strike the iron when hot. Delhi leadership was contacted and requested to amend the decision which in workers' opinion had been ill-advised, premature and born of frustration, with prospects of a bet[ter] deal altogether darkened but in vain.

connected with it is the relase of Pandit Premnath from Jail. After the sorded death of Dr. Ji, Bakshi Ghulam Mohad approached Pandit Premnath in Jail and and told him the whole thing with a request that there was no other suitable person than him to escort the dead body to Calcutta, as the agitated people all over the country would not tolerate any Government for the purpose. As known to Bakshi Ghulam Mohhaed was very clever person, he wanted to kill two birds with one stone and on the other hand Pandit Premnath was perfect gentle and simple so much so that he could not read the motive behind it which was potential enough to deal a deathblow to the so effective and forceful struggle.

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had the Pandit weighed the situation properly and taken into account the after effects of his honourable release, and preferred to remain inside for a little more, the death of Mr. Ji would have provided an opportunity to us to hammer the hot iron according to our ambitions and aspirations, although I feel it was too much to expect from him. He was too big a man to be a politician to think in terms of making the maximum capital of the maximum sacrifice at the alter of State's intergration with the rest of the country. So he easily fell a prey to the snare cleverly laid by the then Deputy Prime Minister, Bakshi Ghulam Mohd, and master minded by his boss, Shekih Sahib.

Pandit Premnath Dogra got down from the plane that flew the dead body of Mr. Ji, at Jullundar. The press contacted him and asked at outset outright: "What is the cause of death ? Whether it is natural or otherwise? But simple, as he was, without having had studied the facts, said that Bakshi Ghulam Mohhed had told him " it was quite natural and there is no foul play of any kind by any mine. The doubts being entertained are baseless and imaginary". But facts which were otherwise will form a separate chapter.

As stated above, the presence of Pt. Ji at Delhi, coincided with the suspension of the struggle and its anticipated failure. But the Leaders at Dehli and the official side, both wanted me to be at Delhi to approve of the suspension step under the pretext that a most favourable end was awaiting my stamp. But doubtful mind of mine stood in the way and kept me back till some concrete and tangible could satisfy me. Telephonic calls aftercall and messengers after messengers from Delhi talked through overground agencies, as was still underground to assure me to avail of the golden opportunity for golden results with advance congratulation.

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After 10 days long wait, discussion with workers and analysis of the alleged favourable decision, he yielded to the persistent calls to be at Delhi, not because he was allured into believing even one per cent ~~that~~ reality of a sanad really a favurable decision awaited ~~my~~ his approval, but ~~in order~~ to know the actual ~~situation~~ position for future course of action. ~~It~~ In ~~is a~~ fact ~~that~~ before leaving for Delhi he frankly told the workers ~~and~~ colleagues ~~that~~ with the release of Pandit Ji, ~~our~~ the unique agitation is on the brink of fizzling out; we have been robbed of our immminent success, ~~and~~ there was little hope to ~~regain~~ redeem the lost ground and that it was purposeless to be there except to be able to understand ~~what was un-~~ Know personally the impending ~~impersonally and~~ ~~known~~ ~~to~~ sustain whatever gained, and to persuade the Leaders to allow ~~us to~~ the revived ~~the suspended movement~~ so ~~arbitrarily suspended as not to see inform or consult~~ us movement. ~~when our Committee and with~~ ~~and these in the jails?~~ ~~The whole of the~~ Working Committee ~~of the perished was~~ members were almost in jails ~~in~~ at different places who were ~~were~~ quite unaware of the unhealty turn the movement ~~was~~ is going to take in utter disregard of the huge sacrifices madd and untold privations undergone by the people ~~at~~ their call.

On 20th July 1953, ~~the~~ the author left ~~the City~~ Delhi early in the morning in police uniform in a jeep ~~driven~~ driven by him personally upto Kathua. The day ~~light~~ was passed in a village named inhabitated by Choudhries, and Rajputs, on the other side of the State Border. As night always proved a faithful friend of ~~mine~~ his, the River Ravi was swammed across at 8 P.M. when all the evil eyes for him were affected by the approach of darkness. In a hired Taxi he reached Ambala at 3 A.M. The third leg journey in a ~~train~~ train dropped ~~me~~ him at Delhi on 21st of July, 1953 at 8 A.M. from Pathankot

At 12 Noon, a meeting was held at Shri Joshi, Advocate's residence in Darya Ganj, near Red Fort. All big guns with Madho Rao Mule, R.S.S. ~~chief~~ General Secretary, Shri Vasant Rao Oak, Shri Balraj

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Madhak in prominence, were present there. Shri Balraj Madhok initiated the talk, welcomed the author's presence and with long awaited lengthy narration of the background of the agitation which was quite unnecessary, turned to the subject saying : "The movement has become a long drawn and weary affair. The sources, stamina and force are all spent up and there seems no hope yet in sight. In the death of Mr. Mukerji, we have been orphaned and renders the job tougher." As already stated, that talk was unnessarily lengthy, incoherent inconerent and roundabout and carried the inference that the agitation can no longer be carried out, neither was it advisable nor possible. The others present also spoke in the same strain, with the same stress and refrain. It was more than clear that dye cast had already been lost, that the sorded decision taken so uncerem[illegible]ously, had no scope for revision and that I was being needed for persuation to follow their disgusting line. The ground under him appeared slipping away and injured sentiments rained through tears. How sad unfortunate I do and dye struggle meeting a dog's death x However I composed and put a straight and candid questions: "Have they formed a consensus to withdraw the movement ? Whether the issue was still open and subject to discussion or settled one ? The answer was quite clear and curt: "No". I was highly pained to memorise the people's sufferings day in and day out, livies lost in firing, police barbarities and women's molestation. Again, though highly disappointed, angered and ashamed of our helplessness, I took courage to ask: "If the withdrawal of the movement is irrevocable and and unconditional, is not it amounts to an unconditional surrender,? Shri Balraj Madkok, hard and hot as he is, shouted instantaneously: Doubtlessly it is an unconditional surrender. But Shri Madho Rao Mule, clever, pois

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and deep, as he was, took Balraj Madhok to task for his clear cut commitment saying: How do you say that it is an unconditional surrender ? Have we given up our stand and submitted to that of the Government ? The agitation has awakened the eyes of the people at large ? Is it a less acheivement? So Balraj Madhok, who says what he feels, was silenced with authoritarian frowns, critidism and polished rebukes so common in the RSS Dictionary that brook no dissent voice with immunity. But the author was far from being satisfied by the keen and fervent persuasion and did not cowed down by the authoritarian dictates when the honour, rights and the very existence of the Jammu people were at stake. So he did not agree with the proposal and asked the worth and value of the sacrifices thrown to winds and that how could he face the people who shed their blood and gave what was on the result. asking. serious and angered silence was all it got in the end.

Caught
Placed in a precarious strange situation of two worlds - the world leaders and the world of people. Courgeously the author rose , refuted the decision - condemnable and detestable as it was - and walked out as a portest saying "I am going back to Jammu, restart the struggle come what may, even without your help whether material, inspirational or moral. The whole house including Pt. Premnath, was besides with rage, asked me to come in to coerce me into submission. He did yield on one condition; " Let the working committee still in jail be arranged to meet here or there at Jammu to decide the issue fraught with dimensional implications and stakes. But that too was not to be done. But to speak of the Working Committing meeting, I was not allowed to see even a few outside Jail then and present at Delhi.

to submit to the decision

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as I was constantly shifted from one place to the other. Now there was a meeting at N.C. Chatterji's place, 7-B, Pusa Road, then at Shri Mouli Chandra Sharma's place and after that I used to be driven to 12 Khamba Road, Shri Hansraj Gupta's place. The whole day would pass in hectic activity, discussing and arguing the issue of withdrawal of the movement. Even nights were not spared. No stone was left unturned to bring the author round to the idea, but he did not yield to sign the statement already signed by Pandit Premnath Dogra. As the interest of the people and the country at large was uppermost in his mind, no amount of harsh and hard words could curb his spirit to bow before the unconditional surrender. Zealous ones for the withdrawal arranged meetings with the then Deputy Prime Minister, Bakshi Ghulam Mohd and the then Prime Minister, Pt. Jawharlal Nehru to get him satisfied about the change brought about by the movement. He gladly accepted to that extent as much the said leaders had even though little hope of any worthwhile gain while ~~change in their the outlook and thinking of the then both The State and the Central Governments~~, but it was only to disarm those who were dubbing him as uncompromising and unreasonable. With an honesty of purpose, he also on his part was no less anxious than others but with a difference that he wanted an honourable and glorious end. He intended to avail the opportunity to probe the hearts of the then authorities about their sincereity and reliability before agreeing to give his approval so feverishly sought for.

A meeting with Bakshi Ghulam Mohd lasted for an hour. Shri D.P. Dar, the then Deputy to him was also there with him to assist for talks and loud promises full of potentials allurement. To remind readers, our basic demands were that we fought for complete integeration of the State with the rest of the country like other States, abrogation

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370 article that gave special powers to the State, appointment of a Governor by the Rashtrapati instead of Sadr-e-Riyasat who had been was to be at the mercy of the State rulers, and the Indian flag instead of a separate National Conference flag was the foremost demand. In Hindi it was : One "Ek Nishan, Ek Pradhan aur Ek Vidhan." The hour long meeting lasted without even a mention of these basic aspirations of the people. Shri Bakshi Ghulam Mohd said:"I whole-heartedly condole the sad demise of Shri Dr. Shyam Prasad Mukerjee". We tried our best to save him by rendering prompt and proper medical treatment, but sorry God's will prevailed." The agitation has harmed the economy of the state and Jammu interest has suffered considerably. Better treatment would in future be given to Jammu people in future. We see Jammu and kashmir people with one eye. All the detenus and satyagrahies would be released immediately and their Government would without giving a chance give no chance for any complaint etc". The author treated this talk irrelevent as the basic problem of special status to the State in the constitution, was the source that gave birth to political, economical, and administrative and social problems, did not find any mention at all. The least that the Author could suggest was : The Asembly is not a representative body particularly in the Jammu Province - a compelled one because of bycott by the Praja Prishad, does the Govt., a-compelled-one, agree to propose fresh and fair elections to afford it a representative character to the House so essential to create a sense of participation, to improve the image of democracy , to ensure the future well being of Jammu with their real representatives there, to safeguard their interests and above all to strengthens its case in the International forums that exploits its unrepresentative character as a easy handle"? but the side tracking and irrelevent could keep on covers of diplomacy and polish to befool me.

But irrelevent diplomatic talk aimed at side tracking the real issues failed to befool the author.

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being totally unresponsive and indifferent to ~~my~~ his pleas and conditions, I concluded ~~that~~ "It ~~was not~~ was inadvisable to prolong the parleys and left the place in protest with nothing tangible and worth the sacrifices in sight. The ~~in sight that~~ gloom and hopelessness hardened ~~me~~ him for a further fight without respite. Even ~~as regards~~ the Hotch Potch assurances given and remedies, which were ~~not the~~ far from solution of the problems at all, ~~I could~~ not trust the Bakshi and told him: " ~~Our~~ experience has ~~that~~ you are not a man of word". " You say one thing and do the other thing. So agitation is the only way to mend your ways aimed at suppression of Jammu people." ~~I laid bare~~ ~~my~~ impresions before all, without fear ~~or~~ and favour and clearly made known ~~my~~ his intentions to ~~resen~~ resume the struggle with greater fervour and zeal, like do or die, now or never, come what may, in a deadly ~~death riven~~ way. But the exponents of withdrawal still hoped against hopes that ~~I may~~ the author might be prevailed upon by Hon'ble J.L. Nehru to whom he had to meet later on. On 26th July 1953, Pandit Mouli Chandar Sharma, the then President of the Jan Sangh, Pt. Premnath Dogra and ~~myself~~ the Author met Shri Nehru Ji, at 4 P.M. as scheduled. It may be reminded that the meeting was for ~~my~~ author's satisfaction and only he had to talk to him as others ~~were~~ had already agreed ~~upon~~ to withdraw the movement. As I saw no harm in probing Shri J.L. Nehru's mind about the basic intriguing political ~~problems~~ set up in the J&K State, them obtaining, with Sheikh Abdullah's thundering defiance and hobnobing with Pakistan. Before detailing upon the interview, I feel called upon to add that in our previous talks, Pandit Ji was never found tolerting a ~~any~~ even ~~thing~~ word ~~said~~ against Sheikh Abdullah ~~and his~~ 's policies ~~and~~ , gave the impression that ~~he~~ Shri Nehru was highly enamered of his personlaity, ~~and~~ had ~~the utmost~~ perfect belief in his sincereity, and ~~that the~~ fell Kashmir ~~was~~ to be in his pocket. Although the Jammu and Kashmir State was under Sardar Patel's charge

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of the meeting were laid bare

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as per his portfolio but out of ~~great love for sheikh~~ undue regard for the Sheikh Abdulla and unquestioned confidence in ~~him~~, he all along dealt with the State affairs himself and the mess obtaining to this day is his creation. Pakistan's aggression after aggression by Pakistan resulted in great disturbances, economic loss and uprooting of the border people. What the forces achieved in the field was again and again given to the aggressor on Conference table. to tempt him to further commit attack. The call of plebescite was an ~~had been causing~~ headache ~~upto this day~~ with the uncertainty looming large. ~~loomed large to cause worry and harassment to all.~~ As far as ~~I could understand~~ unperturbed Sardar Patel ~~he~~ was not happy with Shri Nehru's way of handling the J & K State affairs that ~~made them still worse~~, caused ~~great pain to him (Nehru)~~ and damaged his faith in Abdullah. went from bad to worse year after year imprisoned more painful to Shri Nehru himself that to the Sheikh

But Sardar Sahib tolerated all bungling and mishandling with a heavy heart. (~~Out~~ his impressions about their interview with Sardar, ~~in support of the statement~~) K.P., one who led the deputation to Sardar Patel summed up Sahib as: Being enamoured of Sheikh Abdulla's personality with Shri Nehru ji was always at Sheikh's back with unquestioned in view of his ~~love~~ and ~~all out~~ support to the Sheikh, him Nehruji.

I put a frank and straight question to ~~him~~: "well respected Pandit Ji, as we rightly feel that you are very sensitive about references to the Sheikh, I want to know whether you are prepared now to hear ~~anything and~~ everything against him ~~now~~ as the problems in the State cannot be ~~alienated from him~~ and ~~as~~ Kashmir ~~has~~ been ~~made~~ Sheikh Abdullah and Sheikh Abdullah ~~has been made~~ Kashmir." In place of frowns and rage, there was a slight sweet smile on his reddish face unlike previous occasions, which was a clear indication of the fact that I could proceed on undeterred and unreservedly. The whole problem was laid threadbare before Nehru Ji. Unlike before, he gave very patient hearing so essential for correct appreciation. ~~I stressed upon this~~ the political aspect of the problem was stressed upon with particular reference to Jammu region ~~that is~~ most dependable ~~region~~ to play a vital role to ~~strike against~~ the separatist

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tendencies then so rampant in the valley. Further, it was stressed : "As a matter of fact Jammu & Kashmir is more a defence problem and let it be tackled militarily till Pakistan 's game of thunder and plunder looms large over our heads." I took courage to say boldly what Nehru ji the matter was in his pocket: "Respected Pandit Ji " Kashmir can never be in your pocket rather you are in their pocket and the Indian Leadership, including yourself, with the exception of Sardar Patel, has so far proved to be a little match against the Kashmiry Leadership, who have ever raised their brows after extracting rather squeezing maximum Indian bell blood and money. Have not they (Kashmiri Leadership) proved more clever and shrewd by obtaining a special political safeguard in the shape of section 370 in the Indian constitution at the cost of the country and its people"? Your too much of faith in them and all out support to them has let you down. Moreover the problems faced by the people and Jammu and Ladakh coupled with the uncertainity obtaining in the State can well be attributed to your weakneed and undecisive pole policy about Kashmir". As the people know very well, border people had been facing great trouble and consequent loss at the hands of Pakistani raiders who intrude into and kill the villagers, take away their cattle and pu plunder their homes & hearths. While the villagers on the other side were well-armed, our side was ill-equipped and could not face the intruders effectively. In this context, Pandit Ji was requested: Pakistani raiders have been a great nuisance to border people particularly, they must be taught a befitting leason at least at two three places to put an end to their day-to-day machinations as they are not prone to understand what love, requests and persuasions mean on your and your Governme behalf mean. as deterrent action is the only language tehy they understand."

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But as unexpected, Pandit Ji instead of giving a cool and balanced thought to the submission got infuriated and turned down this frank and well-meaning proposition and said: "What do you think Mr. Varma. Pakistan is our younger brother and it does not behove the elder brother ~~that we are~~ to beat the younger one (Pakistan). The elder brother has got to suffer and tolerate to the maximum to avoid anything unpleasant . moreover, do you think, I should invite War with it which is sure to prove more ~~disortrous~~ and ~~devastating~~. Pakistan is sure to gain by such an ill-considered and sentimental action. I am not going to commit such a blunder and provide an handle to Pakistan and the powers supporting it." Thus the heated and animated lecture went on for a few minutes more which was heard and understood without the least interruption on our part. At the end, I politely submitted: " I never meant to indulge in such a big way as to invite War with Pakistan. I only ~~submitted~~ meant some sort of momentary shock and jolt to it to mend it's designs aimed at disturbing the border position again & again, causing untold suffering and loss ~~to the~~ of production. I appreciate your brotherly feelings for Pakistan but the alleged younger brother ~~is not so but a bigger enemy~~ The fear of bigger confrontation with Pakistan for checking his activities on the border, is a far fetched and ~~weak~~ born out of thinking . Even if it be accepted that to avoid something serious, we have to tolertate all nonsense and loss, ~~it is remedy~~ is rather ~~it is~~ an open encouragement to the agressor. It must be remembered that your goodself may or may not like, ~~you~~ the day will ~~would be forced to~~ definitely come, whether in or after your life, when India will be forced to face Pakistan - the younger brother - in the battle field." This was also a hard revelation on ~~my~~ author's part but it was taken down to the heart, ~~as it~~ deserved by Pandit Ji. It came to be true first in 1965 and then in 1971. Both times the younger brother was the attacker,

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to prove and the fact that the pious notion and the younger brother ly towards him were wrong and rather he showed itself to be an enemy of litte trust. Even to-day Pakistan gives the impression that it has not learnt any lesson from the three devasting Wars and is an obstinate and impervious lot.

Pandit Premnath and Pandit Mouli Chandar Sharma, asked my reaction after the interview while we drove to latter's house. My impressions were: "There is nothing concrete and tangible. I am not satisfied with the talk, there being nothing about the basic problem which was the real headache and fountain head of all day to day problems for the country in general and the State in particular. The least that could form the meeting ground was to arrange reelection in the State for to equip the real representatives with a recognized political weapon to fight agaist the separatist tendencies and injustice so glaring. That too has not figured anywhere. Therefore I see no point in calling off the agitation and my conscience does not allow me to be a party to the withdrawal that I treat an an abject surrender. I humbly submit to allow me to revive the Morcha as struggles cannot be launched again and again. Had we not lost one struggle earlier when Rupchand Nanda was our President ? Masses are not and should not be considered to be dumb-driven cattle. How long and how far they can be expected to trust us when we fail them again and again with the huge sacrifices thrown to winds ? Please give me two months' time more and see how the winds turn favourable. Withdrawal after Dr. Mukerji's death sacrifice offering is not only improper, injudicious and damaging but also impolitic and disgraceful at the same time.

However, there was only one redeeming inference from the talk that Pandit Jawarlal Ji had become more realistic, reasonable and receptive and had lost soft corner, so cherished, for Sheikh Abdulla, and was no more enamered of his tall and lofty personality, in builting up which Pandit

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Ji himself went to all extent. Sheikh Abdulla's behaviour and performance had completely disilluioned the Pandit ji and inference came to be true when Sheikh Abdullah was dethroned by the then Sadare Riyasat, Dr. Karan Singh and arrested on 9th August, 1953, and Bakshi Ghulam Mohd became the Chief Minister.

On 3rd of August ~~29th of July~~, I was at Kurukshetra in connection with RSS Camp. Almost all the high-ups of the organization including respected Guru Ji (Madhov Rao Sadashiv Gulwalkar). Shri Guru Ji asked my concrete impression about the interview. He told "There is nothing worth telling except that Sheikh may be arrested & some one else may be installed which will be immaterial and of no consequnce to the basic malladay as the new figure will not deviate from Sheikh Abdullah's basic policies and the people of Jammu and Ladakh will go on suffering as earlier when there is none to represent them in the Assembly - a House of unopposed and imposed representatives belong to one Party - National Conference - ~~only~~ which has no footing in the Jammu region."

On 28th July 1953, representatives of all the Political parties - Bharatiya Jan Sangh, All India Hindu Mahasabha, Ramrajya Parishad, Praja Parishad of Jammu and Kashmir and Akali Dal - met at N.C. Chatterji's residence 7, Pusa Road, New Delhi. All were of the view that the movement should be called off forthwith otherwise they declined to support it. I was the only ~~with a~~ dissent voice and did not see eye to eye with the proposition. No amount of pressure could cow me down and I stood like a rock in the interest of the people at large and made it plain to all that the people would gladly face all the odds and lay down their dear livies to sign their political death warrants. Even men like Desh Pandey, the then General

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secretary of the All Inda Hindu Mahasabha, was in favour of withdrawal. I was amazed by his cowardly thinking and did believe that was the same Desh Pandey who roared like a Lion on any injustice to any cause and stood like a rock against odds with examplary courage and determination, I asked him "Are you the same Desh Pandey who inspired us in our early age? How and what has weakened you so much ? I am at loss to understand your siding with others who have succumbed to their weakness and frustration so much as to reduce the huge sacrifices to dust? He confided and told: "Personally I am not in favour of withdrawal and no doubt I also treat it a political blunder unknown to the agitational history, but has been driven by all others to this way reluctantly, and advised me there being no use to go a head with the revival of the struggle in face of overwhleming non-cooperation". He advised me : "You please also give in and sign the statement along with Pandit Premnath for withdrawal of agitation." But I did not agree and all the leaders present were highly enraged and irrid irritated. Even temparamentaly cool and silent persons like Pandit Premnath were upset by my courageous stand and turned red with rage. Rebukes like uncompromising, arrogant, silly, unsound and irreconcialatory were showered from all sides which too did not coerce me to develop cold feet like them. Pandit Prem Nath's eyes so kind and soft , as they used to be, became exceptionally red and emitted fales flames. He lost his his temper, perhaps for the first and the lost time in his life, and roared like a lion; " Leave him the incorrigible aside: I condemn his defiant attitude and write his off for further talk. I am the Head of the Organization and have every right to do as the situation demands". So he signed the death warrants of the people's aspirations and ambitions, so just, rightful and dear, which we

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neared fruition instantaneously without even taking into confidence the working committee which was still behind bars. I was very much pained and had decided not to enter into the state in face of the unceremonious end of the campaign so nicely and steadfastedly run by the people against the dangerous policies of the Sheikh Government. However, I tried to compose myself from the shock and depression thinking that inspite of my honest and best efforts to salvage the impact and effects of the struggle, misfortune failed us the second time also. The satisfaction of standing by the side of the people instead of the leaders, representing their cause faithfully without fear or favour and not becoming a party to sign the withdrawal helped me a lot in those days.

A questions might be asked: Why I kept it a secret for such a long time ? Was it not in the interest of the people to lay bare the facts ? Why did I kepk silent even when blamed for withdrawal?

In the first place I may say that I have had great respect for Pandit Premnath Ji. He was a unique person with well balanced mind and heart. He never played any wrong through out his life. He loved me a lot and had great confidence in me. But he had the respect and popularity of a leader though not politically minded. Parishad was the only political party in the State without much following in the Kashmir Valley. So I did neither like to defame the leadership nor weaken the already weak opposition in the State, which was only confined to Jammu region practically. I did not think it in the interest either of the leadership or the organization to give vent to my feelings though injured badly in face of worst sort of insinuations and provocations. I felt it my duty to lay bare the facts which I claim to be in the public for history sake so that the sacrifices and facts may not go unsung and unheard and all appreciation for posterity guidance and le

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Boycott of Elections in 1952

In 1952 PP was at peak of its glory and popularity amongst masses. Sheikh Abdullah practised unsecular, undemocratic and discriminatory policies.

30 PP candidates filled the nomination papers. The people of Jammu and PP were in high spirits. As a first jolt 12 nomination papers ~~were~~ of PP candidates were rejected. This most undemocratic and unjust onslaught on opposition on flimsy & practically no grounds sent a wave of resentment in Pradeshad circles.

A section in the PP led by Sh Mahasha Lal Arora and supported by Sh. Sehdev Singh, Sh. Rishi Kumar Kanshal, Dr. Om Prakash Mengi, Shri Radha Krishan, Sh. Bhagwat Swarup, Sh. Ruplal

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decided in favours of boycotting the elections. Pandit Prem Nath Dogra and Sh. Durga Dass Verma carried the view in favours of contesting the elections.

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Boycott of Elections in 1952.

In 1952, the Praja Parishad, on the pitch of its glory and popularity due to its successive struggles and sacrifices and due to the anti-regional, communal and discriminate polies of the Sheikh Abdullah's Government. The National Conference, the ruling party, had no following and roots in the people of the Jammu region worth the name, and was well conscious of the fact that it would, in case of fair and free elections, draw blank. In the Kashmir valley, the ruling party had a very sound and exclusive base with none in opposition to it. Apart from other distinctions of culture, language, and religion, the political distinction, on the eve of elections bec emerged as two regional forces well arrayed to fight against each other to prove that the unnatural political disintigration was on the verge of disintigration because of the Sheikh's undemocratic and unsecular policies.

The people and the Praja Parishad were in high spirits and felt elated to prove their metal to set the brains of the victors in order, as the Kashmiri Leadership felt and impressed in order in the ensuing battle of ballot. Both the parties chose their candidates. While the Praja Parishad had a good stock of sound, able and reputed prospective candidates, the ruling party had a very hard time to find out its candidates. The candidates they chose excepting a few, were of no calibre and public following. This picture further dismayed and demoralized the ruling party and they began to think of other unfair means to prove its worth. The very first shot in their long and bloody was fired in rejecting as many as 12 nomination papers of the Parishad candidates out of thirty seats. This most undemocratic and unfair onslaught on the opposition on either flimsy or pratically no grounds sent a wave of resentment and demoralization in the Parishad circles. Further it gave rise to apprehensions that even the battle of

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one Certain
~~not~~ was not going to be smooth and fair, ~~and some~~ section
in the Parishad assessed that at ~~the~~ most 3 or 4 seats might
fall to the lot of the opposition, and that too with the mercy of the
ruling party. ~~This~~ section spearheaded by Mr. Makhanlal Aima, ~~had~~
Janakinath Dhobi, Shri Radha Krishan Sharma, Shri Ruplal Gupta,
Shri Rishi Kumar Kaushal, Shri Shamlal Sharma and Smt. Shakti
Sharma, ~~in it~~. Though the apprehension of unfair elections
could not be ruled out as ingenuvine, ~~but~~ there was no idea to
boycott the elections at the initial stage. ~~But~~ The simmering
discontent over the selection of the Parishad candidates coupled
with the mass rejection of nomination papers ~~made the matters easy~~
provided a golden
~~for the said~~ section to float the alternative ~~of boycott~~ more out
and propagate boycott
of jealousy and frustration. ~~that~~ The fear of unfair elections
~~though this was the most solid logic~~, ~~I feel that~~ The initiator
of the idea, could not be other than Shri Makhanlal Aima known
for his ability and cleverness ~~who~~ had all along acted as a
leader of the group ~~that~~ never liked ~~the~~ Author to command
respect and popularity. How could ~~it~~ tolerate ~~the success~~
~~of the author~~ and ~~the~~ party's in the elections ~~which would have~~
~~added more to their name and fame~~.

The discontentment on the part of the aspiring persons
~~was~~ not an unusual or unnatural phenomenon. It is a very common
malady in the politica field and even men of integrity do fail
in the test. So some of our candidates whose nomination papers
were rejected, could not face the wave of frustration and ~~fell~~
victim to dejection so much so, ~~that they lost the sense of~~
good
~~proportion~~ and rationality. mention of a few, of such either
aspirants,
~~prospective~~ or rejected candidates, would suffice to prove the
fact. ~~Shri Rishi Kumar Kaushal, who was a candidate from~~
~~Keasi, Shri Hansraj Gupta now an Advocate at Ramnagar, who~~
~~applied from Kasa for Ramnagar, Shri Shamlal Sharma who had~~
~~stood from Akhnur and Shri Dr. Om Prakash who had not applied~~
~~from anywhere. Shri Rishi Kumar's rejection on the age was~~

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Shri Rishi Kumar's Nomination papers from Reasi constituency were rejected on the basis of age which was less than prescribed in the rules. Shri Hansraj Gupta (now an advocate at Ramnagar) Chairman's nomination papers was rejected on flimsy ground. Mr. Chhajuram's nomination was rejected on the ground that his resignation had not been accepted before the scrutiny took place - although he had applied for the same much earlier. The fact was that the rejection was delayed purposely to get him rejected. Shri Shamlal Sharma who stood from Akhnur and Shri Dr. Om Prakash now Sanghchalak of J&K State RSS unit who had not applied from anywhere. Shri Shamlal Sharma was RSS Secretary in the state. He developed cold feet to give a fight as he could not come up as a political leader, despite best efforts on the part of the organization and the author himself who always held him very high and respected him the most. The lack of confidence developed in him double-mindedness. His wife, Shakti Sharma, who played a key role in disrupting the Organization vehmently, remarked at many places that his husband had been given a seat which could not be won. The sure shot had been shared by others particularly the Author, with his manipulation. The seed of rivalry and jealousy raised its head and was in the search of its companions to raise the banner of revolt. Shri Dr. Om Prakash Mengi expressed disappointment for not being chosen to fight elections. But his anger and disappointment both were unfounded as he himself did not resign although asked many a time by the Author to apply for the same. He himself was in double mind. How could it be posible without resigning from the office of profit I could not understand. The fact is that the author honestly desired and liked his candidature as no candidate could be better than him. This all paved the way for the initiators of the idea of boycot of byecot and a lobby to that end was fully devdoped to that end with the help of this dissatisfied

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passes my comprehension how in a day's time such such a drastic thinking has developed, when the elections are in full swing smoothly going on for the elections with a net work of public meetings all over the region. I have toured each and every constituency, along with the respective pracharaks and have found the atmosphere very encouraging and favourable. Rejection of nomination papers, no doubt, is seriously disgusting development, but the fight against the same is still open. Ingenuvine rejections can also be sucessfully fought in a Court of law afterwards which we shall also lose in case of boycott. It is a very important matter and calls for deeper study of its pros and cons without falling victim to emotions and anger, howsoever justified it may be. these Elections provide an occasion Discarding the Golden opportunity is fraught with danger and consequences. to the opposition to become effectively representative. This opposition is a dire pre-requisite of democracy is the most opportune time. People are in high spirit. Parishad is strong enough. National conference is rootless Boycott Boycott will not only demoralize the people but throw them in the back ground. Once the National Conference candidate achieve their representative character, they will nurse their respective constituencies with an eye on their future, to the best of their ability and capacity. People in general who today look down upon them will sooner than not turn their backs to show Parishad, which had nothing in hand to serve them or would have with nothing in Praja influence the policies of the Government. Unlike other States of the country, this State, being ridden with so many complex problems peculiarities, cannot afford to be without opposition. Th Boycott Boycott is just running away from fight to wait for a would never another five years to come up to the top which cannot be Possible certain. If you feel jealous of me, I am prepared to withdraw in favour of a candidate of your choice but the elections must be fought in the interest and that of country at large Organization, and the democracy which will be re But the essence of democracy otherwise democracy will be rendered devoid of its spirit and benefits. But no patience the impotent impatient lot be witnessed and expected from the diehards diehar

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by out of ballot battle with flying colours

~~Silent~~ success. Representation and recognition is only possible through ~~election~~ representations, and not otherwise. It is only the barometer of our strength and position in a democratic set up. Otherwise ~~one~~ who cares ~~little~~ ~~for the~~ for oral following and popularity based on the strength of membership or the ~~number of~~ bigger aduience. ~~just by knowledge of books one cannot get a degrees~~ It is a kind of degree that counts. ~~It is a separate procedure and practice.~~ So let us not commit a political blunder, that it is going to be, in the history of the State".

Thus the meeting ended with different impressions, which proved to be wrong and short-lived. In the meanwhile, the then Election Commissioner, Shri D.P. Dhar, came to Jammu, and requested Pandit Ji on phone to send his men for talks as the Government was feeling concerned to learn that the Parishad was deciding to ~~boycott~~ the elections. Pandit Ji deputed the Author for the purpose but I declined to go all alone as whispering compaign had already started just after the meeting that the Author had become avracious and was being bribed by B. Ghulam Mohd for opposing the boycott. So Dr. Om Prakash Mengi was asked to accompnay him. ~~As suggested a list of~~ The conditions ~~were chalked down~~ under which Parishad could ~~be prepared~~ to fight elections ~~which~~ were ~~run~~ as below:-

greedy

1. To ensure free and fair elections, the ballot boxes should be allowed to be examined before the election takes place by the respective Candidates with their agents along with their agents.

2. The number of ballot papers should at a booth must correspond to the number of voters. The uncast if any should be counted and shown to the respective candidates or their agents then and there.

3. Counting must taken place then and there at the booth. If it be not possible, the boxes should be sealed and kept under combined guards of the respective cadidates to be in arms provided by the Government.

4. The removal of the boxes to a central place for counting should not take place without proper guarding by the Candidates' persons.

5. The Mininsters and Government officials other than those deputed for the purpose will not visit any booth or constitutency after the time limit of ~~propaganda~~ electioneering lapses.

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6. Police bandobust should be in the hands of the police other than the local authorities.

7. The Election Commissioner who belongs to the ruling party, directly should assure his impartiality, very much at doubt, by some sort of public oath and ommittment.

Mr. D.P.Dhar, agreed all the conditions but it did not suffice satisfy us. We desired a meeting with the Sheikh, Shri D.P. Dhar suggested to see the General Secretary . Maulana Masoudi, who was there in Jammu at that time. But We insisted upon a meeting with the Sheikh only for some public commitment from him also. D.P. Dhar arranged two seats in the Plane that was to take off at 3 P.M. We reachd at Pandit Ji's place at 1 P.M. to apprise him and the workers of the talks held. But To our surprise, instead of hearing anything from us, a resolution, that had already been framed was presented in the meeting calling for boycott of elections. None cared otherwise . The Author found himself all alone, and got his dissent recorded and submitted to the will of the majority.

The decision for boycott was only possible with the approval of the RSS authorities at Delhi. They were again and again contacted on phones to approve the decision. But as I used to learn they were too not in favour of it. But the boycotters so cleverly gave their one sided version to them that did not think it proper to consult the other side at all.

One morning while I was leaving Pandit Ji's place for a walk, Mr. Aima was talking on telephone with the Delhi people. It was over heard by the author by chance. They were asking: Is the decision unnimous or otherwise". Aima told: Yes the decision is unnimous." The author objected saying: "Mr Aima do not be wrong." You know Pandit Ji and myself are opposed to the boycot decision proposal considering it to be a suicidal step. Then why you are conveying what is not a fact." But he did not care and went on sounding probably Shri Madho Rao Ji. Moole, RSS General Secretary (deceased).

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The Delhi Authorities desired that both opposers the opinions i.e. for and against the Byecott should be personally represented to them at Delhi. But the zealous byecotters did not prove fair to the opposers and manipulated to leave for Delhi themselves, as they did not expect to win the battle in presence of the persons holding other opinion. The gloomy picture drawn before the Authorities by the byecotters after consultation with some outsiders like Meharchand Mahajan, gave their decision in favour of the byecot to seal the fate of the Parishad to emerge as a strong opposition in the State.

It is not understandable why Dr. Mukerji was not consulted in this so important a matter, when he was very near to us on account of the negotiations held with him for the formation of a political party to be headed by him. An interesting event speaks about the fact. Soon after the formation of Jan Sangh under Dr. Ji's presidentship, along with Pandit Ji, the Author had a chance to have a drive with Dr. Ji. During talks in the car, some how or other, the mention of byecot came in. He felt very much pained to say: "Parishad has done a great disservice by running away from the electoral fight and has indirectly helped the ruling party and has betrayed the aspirations and expectations of the people, a good number of which is sure to defect to the other side in course of time". He asked Pandit Ji: why he was not consulted before taking such demaging step". He cited the example of North Frontier Province - a province of India before independence saying: You know there was a talk of referendum on the eve of partition of the country in the said province as its people and leadership was deadly opposed to its being part of Pakistan. A good deal of tug of war went on for some time. Shri Abdullah Gaffar Khan and his brother Khan Sahib both wanted referendum to decide whether the people want to go to pakistan or opt for India. The British Government did not oppose the idea and expressed

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r willingness provided India agreed. On approach to the said
ndian leadership by the leadership of the province, the con-
gress leadership failed miserably to read the future and the
aspirations of the people of the province who had always sided
with the congress through thin and thick of the struggle for
and in independence
against the mighty Britain power." He assured with convic-
tion: Had not the Indian leadership betrayed the brave Pathans
at that time , the picture of Pakistan would have been different
It a
Pakistan would have been truncated one and crippled one. The
country
undergone by the N.W.F.P
sufferings of the people of the province from the very inception
is a painful story i might
from in 1947.
of independance would not have been there and Pakistan would not
then too
have also dared to attak India attack Kashmir. It was all due to
was, does in position to
Congress being against the
running away from referendum by the Congress leadership. So
dishonour
in particular and in general would
the people of Jammu region, and also in the country will repent
this,
helplessly in due course of time as a result of the unwise
harmful
and painful decision. Further, he asked Pandit Ji: "Should I
think that there is no politician in the your circle who could
advise otherwise? Is Parishad leadership is a lot of fools
inexperienced
hands who are
who are not muture enough to understand the political game, or politics."?
I did not like to hide the fact from Dr. Ji and submitted:
Respected Dr. Ji I was opposed to the byecot and Pandit Ji too
Boycott
could
did not like the idea but did not spell out his mind to reverse
the decision. So the fight had to be faught single handedly
by the author. At last he
to the last moment but had to bow before this ill-considered
misconceived
and
and miscalculated immature decision. Reluctantly."

The people at large in the region were not happy at all.
To face their anger and frustration was a problem for the Author
Extensive tours of the constituencies were undertaken in rever-
me
se order with rest in the day and sleep at night, to convince the
people that the decision was unimous, and correct and hundred
a
per cent in their interest with heavy load on mind in concealing
Virtual up two
the facts and proping the wrong. The line given was followed
quite faithfully and honestly . But the Author could not help

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ing on the walls of the hall where the deci[sion] was taken painful its glory and

A political blunder has been committed. No amount of re-[gr]ld will help."

Boycotters

There was one important argument advanced by the bye-cotters from their consideration: The Parishad instead of going for elections should prepare for the struggle to cripple the Government. Parishad is in a position to give unique fight to bring the it to its knees. It is feared that the elections would weaken the organization and demoralization will follow if the Parishad wins a few seats against its expectations."

The view point advanced by the Author in answer to the argument was: both are the fights. Election is a real and acceptable fight that makes the party representative and strong. In case we win the number of seats we expect, we secure the progress and popular-ity of the organization by strides and are in a position to ensue struggle outside, which would definitely be strenghtened by the representation in the legislature irrespective of the fact whether it is worth the name or not. I am not against the proposed struggl That has to be launched to-day or to-morrow. But I do not see any wisdom to discard what is in hand and to hope for the expectant, in the uncertain future. The chance that we losing will be repeated after long five years. to put off wh will be suicidal both for the party and the people and the country at large.

whereas there is no question of losing a chance of a struggle if we decide to fight the elections now.". But the Author failed miserably to make understand the diehards how th were playing with the interest of the people, the health the organization and interest of the country at large.

There is one more significant fact needing menti[on]

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ernment of India too did not like this its glory and
Boycott of
a Boycott ~~of~~ elections. It felt concerned to be...
nd
Parishad might go astray out of frustration born of mass
rejection of nomination papers. Fearing that the election to
the remaining seats might also not be fair and that the one
party show might weaken the Kashmir case in the U.N.O. made
probably
An approach with the consultation of the State Government was
made to the Parishad leadership that nine out of 18 seats could be had
by the Parishad assuredly. Mr. Ayyanger, who had served the
the J & K State in Maharaja's time, and was then Secretary
Kashmir Affairs, in the Centre, was the figure that proposed
proposition feverishly
the ~~proposition~~ and moved the matter ~~fervishly~~. The matter was
discussed in the Parishad circle but not as seriously and dis-
passionately as the situation required. Pandit Ji in a talk
the State Government were
with the author suggested that in case they are prepared to
give 15 seats concede 15 seats out of 18, then they should
not boycott the elections. Pursuance of negotiations resulted
in an agreement over 12 seats. But the diehards were still
not satisfied and wanted nothing short of boycott whatever might
might be the cost, which dominated their brains and affected
their hearts, so much so, that all political sense and farsight-
edness were given goodbye. Selfish motives and personal feel-
ings had the upperhand.

For agument's sake 12 seats, though were not enough
when Parishad was in a position to get as-as all the 18 seats
that remained to be fought, still when the Government of India
had arranged to assure secure them, the offer should not have
so much for the Parishad
been spurned down. Even after getting 12 seats, the legal fight
against the unwarranted wholesale at least 6 seats more that was open would have
for the rejection of 12 seats, ~~by at least 6 seats under liberal estimati~~
the seats more
added our numbers ~~by at least 6 seats under liberal estimati~~
18 seats in the House of 75 at that stage, would have further
made our prospects bright in the subsequent elections and
struggle that the Parishad later launched in November 19
1952

Besides,

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have been further strengthened. ~~with two~~ three of

outside the House. ~~It~~ Jana Sangh Parishad could have effectively highlighted the machinations and checked ~~his wrong~~ highlighted the divisive policy, undemocratic, and communal policies of the Govt.

The argument ~~of the boycotters that~~ "they would only fight if there ~~was~~ is a possibility of winning maximum seats in accordance with their strength" after the historical 1953 movement, Parishad became a force to be reckoned with ~~with~~ the crowning sacrifice of respected Dr. ~~Shyama~~ Shyama Prasad Mukerji, coupled with the arrest and detention of the Sheikh, ~~but~~ Parishad could not win more than 7 seats in the elections, held in 1957, followed by only 3 seats in 1962, and so on. This clearly proves that the resultant decline in representative character of the Parishad was only due to blunder committed by it by running away from electoral fight in 1952, otherwise it would have made brilliant strides to its representation in the subsequent elections to emerge as a forceful and effective opposition in the House. The political and administrative injustices, regional imbalances being painfully felt would have ~~not~~ crossed ~~corrosed~~ the limits.

This all clearly exposes the jealousy entertained by ~~the~~ boycotters, their selfish motives, unfarsightedness, lack of political vision and sagacity. The missing of the bus at an opportune time has been a blunder that has plundered the political future of the rising force and dealing a serious blow to the aspirations and interests of the region beyond retrieve.

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Boycot of Llections in 1952.

In 1952 the ~~Praja~~ Parishad was at the ~~pitch~~ peak of its glory and popularity due to its successive struggles and sacrifices and due to the anti-regional, communal and discriminate ~~palies~~ policies of the Sheikh Abdullah's government. The National Conference the ruling party had no following and roots in the people of the Jammu region worth the name, and was well conscious of the fact that it would in case of fair and free elections draw blank. In the Kashmir Valley, the ruling party had a very sound and exclusive base with none in opposition to it. Apart from other distinctions of culture, language, and religion, the political distinction on the eve of elections has emerged as a reality as two regional forces well arrayed to fight against each other was to prove that only the unnatural political disintegration was on the verge of disintigration because of the Sheikh's undemocratic and unsecular and discriminatory policies.

The people and the Praja Parishad were in high spirits and felt elated to prove their metal to set the brains of the victors ~~in order~~, as the Kashmiri Leadership felt and impressed in order in the ensuing battle of ballot. Both the parties chose their candidates. While the Praja Parishad had a good score of sound, able and reputed prospective candidates, the ruling party had a very hard time to find out its candidates. The candidates they chose excepting a few were of no calibre and locate following. This picture further dismayed and demoralized the ruling party and they began to think of other unfair means to prove its worth. The very first shot in their long and bloody was fired in rejecting as many as 12 nominations papers of the Parishad candidates out of thirty seats. This most undemocratic and unfair onslaught on the opposition on either flimsy or practically no ground sent a wave of resentment and demoralization in the Parishad circles. Further it gave rise to apprehensions that even the ~~use of~~ battle of

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Ballot was not going to be smooth and fair and one certain some section in the Parishad assessed that at the most 3 or 4 seats might fall to the lot of the opposition that too with the mercy of the Ruling party. The section spearheaded by Mr. Mokhanlal Aima, had Jagannath Ambi, Shri Radha Krishan Sharma, Shri Duplal Gupta, Shri Rishi Kumar Koushal, Shri Shamlal Sharma and Smt. Shakti Sharma in it. Though the apprehension of unfair elections could not be ruled out as ingenuvine but there was no idea to bycot the elections at the initial stage. But the simmering discontent over the selection of the Parishad candidates coupled with the Mass rejection of nomination papers made the matters easy for the section to float the alternative of bycot more out of jealousy and frustration that the fear of unfair elections though this was the most solid logic. I feel that the initiator later factor and spoken of the idea could not be other than Shri Mokhanlal Aima known for his ability and cleverness who had all along acted as a leader of the group that never liked the author to command respect and popularity. How could it tolerate the success of the author and the party in the elections which would have added more to their name and fame.

The discontentment on the part of the aspiring persons is not a n unusual or unnatural phenomeno. It is a very common malady in the political field and even men of integrity do fail in the test. So some of our candidates whose nomination papers were rejected could not face the wave of frustration and fell victim to rejection so much so that they lost the sense of proportion and rationality. Mention of a few of such either prospective or rejected candidates would suffice to prove the facts. Shri Rishi Kumar Koushal, who was a candidate from and Shri Dr. Om Prakash who had not applied from anywhere. Shri Rishi Kumar's rejection on the age was Akash Shri Kanaraj Gupta now an Advocate at Ramnagar, who applied from Ramnagar, Shri Shamlal Sharma who had stood from Akhnur.

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Shri Nisha Kumar's nomination paper from Reasi constituency was rejected on the basis of age which was less than provided in the rules. Shri Hansraj Gupta's (now an advocate at Ramnagar) nomination paper was rejected on flimsy ground. Mr. Chhajuram's got his nomination rejected on the ground that his resignation had not been accepted before the scrutiny took place - although he had applied for the same much earlier. The fact was that the rejection acceptance was delayed purposely to get him rejected. Shri Shamlal Sharma who stood from Akhnur and Shri Dr. Om Prakash now Sanghchalak of J&K State RSS Unit who had not applied from anywhere. Shri Shamlal Sharma was RSS Secretary in the state. He developed cold feet to give a fight as he could not come up as a political leader despite best efforts on the part of the organization and the author himself who always held him very high and respected him the most. The lack of confidence developed in him double-mindedness. His wife Shakti Sharma, who played a key role in disrupting the organization vehmently remarked at many places that his husband had been given a seat which could not be won. The sure shot had been shared by others particularly the author, with his manipulation. The seed of rivalry and jealousy raised its head and was in the search of its companions to raise the banner of revolt. Shri Dr. Om Prakash Mengi expressed disappointment for not being chosen to fight elections. But his anger & disappointment both were unfounded as he himself did not resign although asked many a time by the author to apply for the same. He himself was in double mind. How could it be posible without resigning from the office of profit I could not understand? The fact is that the author honestly desired and liked his candidature as no candidate could be better than him. This all paved the way for the initiator of the idea of boycot and a lobby to that end was fully developed to that end with the help of this

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again and again interrupted me the author. Pandit Ji sat all along silent though he too appeared not to be happly with abrupt development. But he did like to speak his meind mind though requested many a time. ON request Pandit Ji was met in his interior room separately. He expressed his astonishment over the turn of the issue saying : "He is not at all happy I am the development is unhealthy and he-is I am opposed to it". But he again kept mum in the meeting and did not let his inner mind out. The byecotters became so impatient and passionate for the detrimental step that they would not allow the other side the courtesy to explain its case. I could not walked out bear the disorder and indisplines in the meeting and left it in protest. In difference to Pandit Ji's wishes, I walked in under the assurance that the matter would be given serious thought. Another significant factor against the byecot was explained thus: "We all know that the Kashmir question is hanging fire in the U.N.O. Byecot of elections will provide an opportunity to Pakistan to propagate that the Assembly is not a representative one to speak about Kashmir. Further it is well known that neither the Central Government nor the State Government view the byecot especially when the National Conference has got its candidates returned unopposed in the Kashmir Valley, in the interest of the Kashmir State itself. The larger interest should have larger appeal. Where is the sense to provide Pakistan with a weapon of exploitation ? In view of the fact that both Central and State Government wish a battle of ballot in Jammu at least, our fears become imaginary that the Government will further like to cut down of size. Further when we have full command of the situation, when the National Conference has neither popularity nor the worthy candidates and when the people are fully prepared to see that no unfair means are adopted, we must be sur-

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brilliant success. Representation and recognition is only possible through election and not otherwise. It is only barometer of our strength and position in a democratic set up otherwise one cares little for the following and popularity based on the strength of membership or the number of audience just by knowledge of books one cannot get a degrees . It is a separate procedure and practice. So let us not commit a political blunder, that it is going to be, in the history of the state".

Thus the meeting ended with different impressions which proved to be wrong and short lived. In the meanwhile , Election Commissioner, Shri D.P. Dhar, came to Jammu and requested Pandit Ji on Phone to send his men for talks as the Government was feeling concerned to learn that the Parishad was deciding to boycot the elections. Pandit Ji deputed the author for the purpose but I declined to go all alone as whispering compaign had already started just after the meeting that the author had become avaricious and was being bribed by B. Ghulam Mohd for opposing the boycot. So M. Om Prakash Mengi was asked to accompany him As suggested conditions were chalked down under which Parishad could be prepared to fight elections which run as below:-

1. To ensure free and fair elections, the ballot boxes should be allowed to be examined before the election takes place.

2. The number of Ballot papers issued at a booth must correspond to the number of voters. The uncast should be counted and shown to the respective candidates or their agents.

3. Counting must takes place then and there at the booth. If it be not possible, the boxes should sealed and kept under combined guards of the respective candidates to be in arms provided by the Government.

4. The removal of the boxes to a central place for counting should not without proper guarding by the Candidates persons.

5. The Ministers and Government officials other than those deputed for the purpose will not visit any booth or constitutency after the limit of propagented lapses.

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6. Police bandobust should be in the hands of the police other then the local.

7. The Election Commissioner who belongs to the ruling party directly should assure his impartiality very much at doubt by some sort of public oath and committment.

Mr. D.P.Dhar agreed all the conditions but it did not suffice and satisfy us. We desired a meeting with th- Sheikh and D.P. Dhar suggested to see the General Secretary . Maulana Masoodi, who was there in Jammu at that time. But we insisted on a meeting with the Sheikh only for some public commitment from him also. D.P. Dhar arranged two seats in the Plane that was to take off at 3 P.M. We reachd at Pandit Ji's place at 1 P.M. to apprise him and the workers of the talks held but to our surprise, instead of hearing anything from us, a resolution that had already been framed was presented in the meeting calling for byecot of elections. None cared otherwise . The author found himself all alone,and got his dissenting recorded and submitted to the will of the majority.

The decision for byecot was only possible with the approval of the RSS authorities at Delhi. They were again and again contacted on phones to approve the decision. But as I understood they were too not in favour of it. But the byecotters so cleverly gave their one sided version to them that did not think it proper to consult the other side at all. One morning while I was leave Pandit Ji's place for a walk Mr. Aima was talking on telephone with the Delhi people. It was over heard by the author by chance. They were asking: Is the decision unanimous or otherwise". Aima told: Yes the decision is unanimous." The author objected saying: "Mr Aima do not be wrong." You know Pandit Ji and myself are opposed to the byecot decision proposal considering it to be a suicidal step. Then why you are conveying what is not a fact." But he did not care and went on sounding probably Shri Me" Ji.

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The Delhi authorities desired that both opposers the opinions i.e. for and against the byecot should be personally represented to them at Delhi. But the zealous byecotters did not prove fair to the opposers and manipulated to leave for Delhi themselves as they did not expect to win the battle in presence of the persons holding other opinion. The gloomy picture drawn before the authorities by the byecotters after consultation with some outsiders like Meherchand Mahajan, gave their decision in favour of the byecot to seal the fate of the Parishad to emerge as a strong opposition in the State.

It is not understandable why Mr. Mukerji was not consulted in this so important a matter when he was very near to us on account of the negotiations being held with him for the formation of a political party to be headed by him. An interesting event speaks about the fact. Soon after the formation of Jan Sangh under Dr. Ji's presidentship, along with Pandit Ji, the author had a chance to have a drive with Dr. Ji. During talks in the car some how or other the mention of byecot came in. He felt very much pained to say: Parishad has done a great disservice by running away from the electoral fight and has indirectly helped the ruling party and has betrayed the aspirations and expectations of the people a good number of which is sure to defect to the other side in course of time. He asked Pandit Ji: why he was not consulted before taking such a damaging step". He cited the example of North Frontier Province - a province of India before independence saying: You know there was a talk of referendum on the eve of partition of the country in the said province as its people and leadership was deadly opposed to its being part of Pakistan. The good deal of tug of war went on for some time. Shri Abdullah Gaffar Khan, and his brother Khan Sahib both wanted referendum to decide whether the people want to go to pakistan or opt for

The British Government did not oppose it

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their willingness provided India agrees. On approach to the Indian leadership by the leadership of the province, the congress leadership failed miserably to read the future and the aspirations of the people of the province who had always sided with the Congress through the thin and thick of the independence struggle for against the mighty Britain power." He assured with conviction: "Had not the Indian leadership betrayed the brave Pathans at that time, the picture of Pakistan would have been different Pakistan would have been truncated one and crippled one. The sufferings of the people of the Province from the very inception of independance would not have been there and Pakistan would not have also dared to attak India attack Kashmir.It was all due to running away from referendum by the Congress leadership. So the people of Jammu region and also in the country will repent helplessly in due course of time as a result of the unwise and painful decision. Further he asked Pandit Ji: "Should I think that there is no politician in the your circle who could advise otherwise? Is Parishad leadership is a lot of fools who are not mature enough to understand the game of politics.? I did not like to hide the fact from Dr. Ji and submitted: Respected Dr. Ji I was opposed to the byecot and Pandit Ji too did not like the idea but did not spell out his mind to reverse the decision. So the fight had to be fought single handedly to the last moment but had to bow before this ill-considered and miscalculated immature decision."

The people at large in the region were not happy at all. To face their anger and frustration was a problem for the autho Extensive tours of the constituencies were undertaken in rever se order with rest in the day and sleep at night to convince th people that the decision was unanimous and correct and hundred per cent in their interest with heavy load on mind by concealin the fact and proping up the wrong. The line given was fo' quite faithfully and honestly. But the author coul

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writing on the walls of the hall where the decision took place

" A political blunder has been committed. No amount of repentance will help."

There was one important argument advanced by the byecutters from their consideration: The Parishad instead of going for elections should prepare for the struggle to cripple the government. Parishad is in a position to give unique fight to bring the it to its knees. It is feared that the elections would weaken the organization and demoralization will follow if the Parishad wins a few seats, against its expectations." The view point advanced in answer to the argument was: Both are the fights. Election is a real and acceptable fight that makes the party representative and strong. In case we win the number of seats we expect, we secure the progress and popularity of the organization by strides and are in a position to ensue the fight inside the legislature also which is more important than anyother forum. Even though we are not allowed more than seats what we deserve and expect, no body can block our path of struggle outside, which would definitely be strenghtened by the representation in the legislature irrespective of the fact whether it is worth the name or not . I am not against the porposed struggle that has to be launched to-day or to-morrow. Bit I do not see any wisdom to discard what is in hand and to hope for the expectant in the uncertain future. The chance that we are losing will be repeated after long five years to put off which will be suicidal both for the party the people and the country at large.

Whereas there is question of losing a chance of struggle if we decide to fight the elections now." But I failed miserably to make understand the dishards how they were playing with the interest of the people, the health of the organization and interest of the country at large.

There is one more significant fact needing

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The Government of India too did not like that the Parishad should byecot the elections. It felt concerned to learn that the Parishad might ago astray out of frustration born of mass rejection of nomination papers. Fearing that the eleftion to the remaining seats might also not be fair and that the one party show might weaken the Kashmir case in the U.N.O. made probably an approach with the consultation of the State Government to the Parishad leadership that nine out of 18 seats could be had by the Parishad assurededly. Mr. Ayyanger, who had served the the J & K State in Maharaja's time, and was then Secretary Kashmir Affairs in the Centre, was the figure that proposed proposition feverishly the ~~proposition~~ and moved the matter ~~feverishly~~ . The matter was discussed in the Parishad circle but not as seriously and dispassionately as the situation required. Pandit Ji in a talk the State Government were with the author suggested that in case ~~they are~~ prepared to ~~give 15 seats~~ concede 15 seats out of 15, then they should not byecot the elections. Pursuance of negotiations resulted in an agreement over 12 seats. But the diehards were still not satisfied and wanted nothing short of byecot whatever might be the cost which dominated their brains and affected their hearts so much so that all political sense and farsightedness were given goodbye. Selfish motives and personal feelings had the upperhand.

For agument's sake, 12 seats , though were not enough when Parishad was in a position to get ~~as~~ all the 18 seats that remained to be fought, still when the Government India had had arranged to ~~assure~~ secure them, the offer should not have been spurned down. Even after getting 12 seats, the fight legal for the rejection of 12 seats that was open would have swelled our numbers by at least 6 seats under liberal estimation. 18 seats in the House of 75 at that stage would have further made our prospects bright in the subsequent elections and the struggle that the Parishad later launched in November 1952,

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would have been further strengthened with two fight in and outside the House. It could have effectively highlighted the mechmmations and checked his wrong , undemocratic, and communal policies.

The argument of the byecotters that they would only fight if there was a possibility of winning maximum seats in accordance with their strength. Hands & Lantern, as after the historical 153 movement Parishad became a force to be reckoned with with the crowning sacrifice of respected Dr. ~~Shyama~~ Shyama Prasad Mukerji coupled with the arrest and detention of the Sheikh, but it could not win more than 7 seats in the elections held in 1957 followed by only 3 seats in 1962 and so on. This clearly proves that the resultant decline in representative character of the Parishad was only due to blunder committed by it by running away from electoral fight in 1952, otherwise it would have made brilliant strides to its representation in the subsequent elections to emerge as a forceful and effective opposition in the House. The political and administrative injustices, regional balances being painfully felt would have not ~~corroded~~ crossed the limits.

This all clearly exposes the jealousy entertained by the boycotters, their selfish motives, unfarsightedness, lack of political vision and sagacity. The missing of the bus at an opportune time had been a blunder that has plundered the political future of the rising force dealing a serious blow to the aspirations and interests of the region beyond retrieve.

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Sought Release of Th. Dhanantar Singh

to apprehend that the Government will stick to its policy of repression and revegge. Rather, it will not only release all the satyagrahies unconditionally, but will create such a congenial atmosphere where there remains no scope for any sort of resentment".

After taking all these appeals, advices and assurances, the struggle was called off. This followed unconditional release of the satyagrahies, except Th. Dhanantarsingh, the Senior vice president, for reasons best known to the Government. Hoping against hope, for some time, a deputation led by the author, waited upon the Prime minister, Shri Ghulam Mohd. Mr. Narsingh Dass, a prominent office bearer and a person of integrity and faithfulness - was one of the deputationists. The meeting, started well, proved unsuccessful and disgusting in the end. All the demands in the memmoranda handed over to the Bakshi, including the demand for the release of Shri Dhanantarsingh, were given casual attention and cold treatment with hallow promises.

I along with Shri Narsinghdas, left the meeting hall in utter disgust. But the heavy rains outside held us up in the outer verandah. Shri Bakshi, briskly followed us and again initiated the talk saying : It appears, Mr. Varma, You are angry and feel annoyed. What is the matter"? We, frustrated, angered and agitated, would have left rather fled from the place, without giving him an opportunity to renew the talk, but for torrential rains making it impossible to sept out. We had neither the conveyance nor an umbrella for shelter. I said: dear Bakshi "How can we feel happy and relieved as none of our demands, has found favour with you". As regards Shri Dhanantar Singh's detention, without trial, he expressed: "Do not talk about the big murderer. We have voluminous looting, arson and murders of muslims against the person and he is not going to be released and you should not press for his release at all

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The author

I retorted: You may keep him inside, as long as you wish, and as long as it serves your cause. Kindly mind it, you had not given out in your assurances, that Th. Dhanantarsingh would not be released, and he should be isolated. But it Parishad is not going to swallow this bitter pill any longer, and may be forced to have resort to agitational approach be stemming from your unfavourable attitude. We should not be made to feel thzt the Government only understands the language of protests and suffering. struggles.

In the meanwhile, we stepped down the plinth, followed by Bakshi Ghulam Mohd. He asked us to share seat in his Car, as he was also going to the old Secttt, but we declined and preferred to be on foot braving the torrential rain cheerfuly. He coming down on my heals lifted me up from behind, asked his Driver, a Sardar one, to open the rear door and put me inside the car against my protests and pleas and sat with me. As it was not considered wise to sccumb to sentiments of annoyance and despondency, we reconciled with the situation and asked mr. Narsingh Dass, to follow the suit by occupying the front seat along with the Driver. So the door for talks was let open hoping with a hope to resolve the issues, talks were again initiated in the car with a warning that agitation may have to be resorted to something good minght come out in the light of our resolve to adopt again the course of selfsuffering having had been spelled out. On his asking where would we like to be dropped, the author told him to leave us at Pt. Premnath's Kothi in Kachhhi Chowni Chowk. In response Bakshi He initiated the talk to assure us that all the demands including even the release of Th. Dhanantarsingh would be conceded to, immediately. When the Car neared the Kothi, it was sped away rather than slowed down under the Bakhshis directions, either according to previous understanding with the Driver, or by a gesture to the Driver conveyed in the way, how and when we could not make out. He wanted us to take us to his office to talk again in reality, This Offer But in Counter mood but we had a different design.

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The moment, the Car reached his office, where the High Court functions now, and the Bakshi got out of it and stepped up, to his o in the verande. In order to repay his trick in the way, I wisphered to Shri Narsinghdass, to come out of the car, and follow me. Instead of following the Bakshi, we reached the Treasury Deori in seconds' time being unnoticed by any either by Bakshi or his Driver. Soon the Bakshi turned back, looked around and locating us, walking away from the Treasury, called the author loudly "Mr. Varma, please stop and come to me . I have to to talk to you". He ordered persons around him to bring me back.

Hearing the shouts of Bakshi sahib, the Secretariate Staff and staff of the other offices, in utter surprise came out to find what was the matter. wrong had happened. All were relieved to find that nothing serious had happened. and it was a fight of wits and tricks only. He took us to his chamber, and gave a promised to release Lt. Thanantarsingh also immediately. But being apprehensive of his dilly dallying tactics, I requested for a catogorical assurance. He assured to set the Thakur free soon using word "Parsun" meaning day-after-tomorrow. But with a bitter taste of his false promises and empty assurances, I asked him : " Please define word "Parsun" called day-after-tomorrow, as Kashmiri people use the same termology "Parsun" for day-after-tomorrow and day-before-yesterday, with unlimited duration . whether a particular event took place, in the last six months, or is to take place after six months, will carry the name "Parsun" or is defined so.. Further explaining my point, I desired to know the duration of his "Parsun". He answered, day-after-tomorrow means day-after-tomorrow. But still doubting his intentions, I asked: m" Kindly specify the date and time of that auspicious to-morrow, so that we may not remain in dark." I further cleared: in case you fail to release the Th. by the time you specify, Satyagrah will be started then, there. To it, the Bakshi said: Please

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do not ~~think~~ contemplate in terms of agitation. I ~~am definite will~~ shall ~~positively~~ surely keep up my promise to release Th. Anantarsingh rest assured. I told him: "You can arrest ~~me~~ him just now, as a precautionery measure, ~~I am~~ as I am going underground hereafter, till the object of release sought for, is achieved. All preparations for meeting the challange, have already been made. In case of a lapse in this regard, on your part, ~~will~~ there will ~~be left~~ no other alternative ~~for us~~ than but to give a call for the Andolan, just after the time limit, fixed for the Thakur's release, expires, ~~for which~~ the responsibility for it shall ~~will~~ squarely ~~rest~~ lie on ~~the~~ shoulders of the Government, we brook no delay as we have already awaited, in vain, the execution of your promises, so often held out. Thereafter, he explicitly specified the date of day-after-tomorrow and with time as 8 P.M.. The author went underground at Akhnoor town, in Jammu District, and maintained constant contact with the developments, in connection with the release of Thakur Sahib as planned and stated above Thakur Sahib's this time, the Bakshi honoured his word and arranged the release on the exact date and time.. This was a clear Parishad victory, as the person, desired by the Government to rot in Jail, indefinitely after facing prosecution for a long time had to be released reluctantly under great pressure of wide spread discontent and distrust in the people all over the region. Besides, Pandit Premnath Ji's pension that had been held up for a considerable time, was got released, the weekly organ named "Swadesh" edited and owned by the ~~another~~, was banned sometime back, was got released and number of other local and common demands, were got conceded. But the basic demand of one Pradhan, one Neeshan and one Vidhan ~~and~~ with abrogation of 370 clause still remained to be fullfiled, till more sacrifices could be made.

Being well alive to the fact that a longdrawn and and forceful struggle, is the only course to awaken the

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conscience of the Central Government and Leadership, on whose shoulders the Sheikh rode rough shod rides, to do whatever he liked ~~likes, their free~~ Central Government's policy of leniency and free and long rope to him (the Sheikh) having emboldened him to go evento the extent of scheming to make Kashmir independent. This required gigantic and concerted efforts on our part to reorganize the here and outside the State and awaken the people to the depth of the situation that called for untold ~~huge~~ hardship coupled with sacrifices. So, to meet the challange effectively, it was planned to organize public meetings, general conventions and open sessions of the organization at every District and Tehsil Head quarters. Pandit Premnath Ji Dogra, was not a public and political leader then. On his release, people all over the region demanded his tour in their respective places. The very first public meeting to be addressed by Pandit Premnath Ji was held at village Smelpur, Ie. Samalpur Pandit ji's the birth place of the Pandit. People from all the villages round assembled in thousands to have his "Darshan" and hear to the Praja Parishad leaders, especially Pandit Premnath Ji. He had never spoken in public in his long earlier life and felt nervous. He, at the most desired to pay thanks only for the grand reception accorded to him. But the author, keeping in view the growth and popularity of the organization, felt that Pandit Ji must be in a position to do justice with the political activity, by attaining the art of addressing the public, address when the leadership had been imposed upon him by the grace of the Sheikh Sheikh Sahib's unwittingly. As such, the author did not like to miss the very first opportunity at hand, even at the cost of frowns and wisphered rebukes showered on from him. when just after it was announced that he would address the people. But before he could be requestdd to speak, a list of some important points was handed over to him to be detailed were listed by the author for his speech upon in his speech. His annoyance was natural He felt very much annoyed and disturbed when a call from the stage was given. The people shouted slogans for in his honour and felt overjoyed to hear him.

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He could speak only for five minites in Dogri, often faultered and could not create impact as the people expected. But it was no fault of his as it was his very first public speech. It did play an important role in laying down the foundation of a very good, sober, cool, calm and a balancexd speaker that he porved to be later on, as every concieveable opportunity was made use of, to develop Pandit Ji, that way. The same practice was enacted at all District and Tehsil Headquarters to develope respective level leadership, as well. Persons who had a place of honour and respect among the people, at their respective District and Tehsil Headdquarters were either Presidents or Secretaries in the organization. But, they lacked very much, the art of speaking and felt shy to face public. But it was a dire necessity to equip them with all the qualities of a leadership, before they could be expected to shoulder the growing responsibilities of the growing organization. In the late Capt. Reasi District, Th. Onkarsingh, the grand son of General Jorawarsingh, in Kathua District Th. akurdass Malhotra, Advocate, Pandit Yogeshwar s/o for R.S.Pura Tehsil, Th. Baldevsingh in Hiranagar Tehsil, Th. Ihanantarsingh of Ramnagar, who became vice president of the organization, later on, and Swamiraj in Tehsil Bhadarwah were fittest personalities decided to be propped up. But the ~~local persons, predominently the workers did littld to bring out of jealousy, lack the said persons to the forefront as a result whereof none of confidence and superiority up in them, superiority except and instead tried to prop themselves~~ the workers, The Work Cells who almost held the reign of the organization in their hands, gave little opportunity, to these persons, unlike Pandit Premnath Ji, to develop, as a second line of leadership. Though Pandit Ji, was decidedly a better man in every respect, still the men chosen up to be built up, could prove no less useful, if the workers at their respective places, had set their eyes on them as much as were set on respected Pandit Ji. But none, of the mentioned ones got the required

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respect and cooperation from the local workers, to create an atmosphere necessary for the climate of mutual confidence, emotional integration and oneness as members of a family. Such persons were, at the most, were made use of with a selfish motive, and were not owned heartily and ~~inwardly~~ emotionally. All those not connected with RSS, were discriminated and did not get equal regard treatment, that gave rise to groupism in the organization, and blocked its the development, ~~of the organization~~ to become a viable opposition in the province, the foundation for which were drenched with the sacred blood of the martyers. But, whatever position, popularity and place of pride, the Jan Sangh had then in the State and howsoever the jubilant the leadership might have felt, and a few M.L.As. might have been proud of their status in the society and the the Government, the fact remained that the organization could not grow into an enviable entity to deliver goods to the people as a whole. It started well and reached the aspired height in the shortest time, but was ~~was~~ failed to become a force to be reckoned with due to unwarranted, ~~untimely and~~ detestable rivalry and jealousy, that raise a ugly its head ~~because~~ stemming out of preferential treatment passionately ~~on the part of~~ lust and by the RSS people, who were/~~very badly~~ after political/ascendency and The leadership proved to be "penny wise and pound foolish". The charm and brilliancy of the political field played a havoc ent RSS workers, who were the core, and spinalcord of the organiza- t, tion, lost sight of the ~~so~~ noble and highly cherished ideals selfless of/service to the people, started grinding their own axes. and They fell prey/the base mentality of pulling each other's legs p for negligible gains and worthless pursuits, instead of proving o ga to be a foundation stone, not only to belie their much trumpted preach- ings but depicted themselves to be hypocrites. Thus the high r- ll cause came was to be suboridnated to selfish Selfish motives, ~~to loose~~ ent the pound ~~to save the penny~~. An example below speaks of the behaviour, mentality and shortsightedness of RSS ~~people~~ especially Pradeshik who who little knew the value and worth of the strong organization build with love, cooperation and selfless service:

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A well-to-do person, ~~who had~~ with an element of sympathy and compassion ~~in him~~ for the animals, once came home a bit late in night in severe winter. He relished his hot meals to his satisc-tion and after a little chat with his family members went to sleep in a comfortable and enough warm bedding. Just after ~~an half~~ an hour, he was awakened by the screams and cries noise/of the monkeys ~~from his sound sleep~~. He understood the reality in a flash, woke up his wife and the servant ~~and~~ & asked them to give whatever surplus food was left to the monkeys, who were crying ~~because~~ out of hunger and thirst. To the reluctant wife, he advised that the monkeys too have life, they too feel hunger and thirst like us. We must have love and sympathy with them as with ourselves. The strong element of compassion, in the husband kindled the dorment flame of sympathy in his wife. She ordered the servant to arrange water and food on the roof. For sometime ~~again~~ there was silence and peace on the roof the couple and the servant again enjoyed their sound sleep. But the duration was again short lived as the monkeys again cried shouted and fought among themselves. The disturbance repeated the sad story, ~~of awakening and disturbance. dis-comfort.~~ The wife got irritated and asked the servant to drive them away with lathy and stones. But ~~the man~~ her husband did not mind the discomfort caused, rather his thought went to the monkeys, who were crying because of ~~a~~ worst discomfort, due to the chilly atmosphere outside on the roof.. He asked the servant, not to ~~resort to this of remedy for~~ misbehave with monkeys ~~with selffish motive~~. Rather the monkeys need our help in this crucial hour as they are braving the cool gushing and go winds nakedly while ~~were~~ we were ~~are~~ enjoying hot beds conforts of ~~hot beds~~. They too need a bedding hot enough to well sheild them from the hellish cold winds. The sevant took the bedding on to the roof and arranged it in such a manner which could protect them against the

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benumbing chill. Again cool and ~~clam~~ calm prevailed to enable the disturbed family to enjoy the sleep. At dawn servant was asked to go up to collect utensils and the bedding, as the monkeys had left since long, keeping in their traditional nature, to up and doing before sunrise. The utensils were intact but there was no sign of the bedding. The servant wondered, ran ether and thether to find out the bedding in vain, and reported, " there is no trace of the bedding anywhere, search on other roofs and houses has also yeiled nothing, but there rags and pieces of cotton in bad shape, spread all ovdr the roof". He collected all the waste and bundled down, for the family's knowledge and ~~satisfaction~~ realization ~~that whether the l-~~ vage could confirm the fact that it was the disposal of ~~very bedding that was thrown placex~~ arranged for the sheering and screaming ~~monkeys on the roof~~. The family felt ~~n-~~ ed and ashmaded for loss . How the monkeys could reward otherwise, the sympathetic and compenssionate feelings shown to them by the family ? The animal within them had little understanding about the worth and value of the bedding that could protect and confort them like the human beings. They did what their mentality and nature guided them to do with no sense of personal ~~loss~~ harm or impersonal loss.

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Hairbreadth escape from Shri Yogeshwar's house.

During the agitation in 1949, I was hiding in Shri Yogeswar's house on B.C. Road. On the eve of Raksha Bandan, while in November 1949, while drafting a rejoinder to the Govt.'s misrepresentation of Praja Parishad's case agitational cause, I felt mental disturbance - a signal for fast approaching danger - to make up mind to leave the place at once without losing time. Respected Shri Yogeshwar's mother, who had a plan of her own, very much insisted otherwise with the assurance that the place was very much secure; that there was no apprehension of any raid by the police and that incase of a raid they would see that yes I did not fall in their hands. She had planned to call my sisters for Raksha Bandan the next ~~day-festive-and-sacred~~ day to a feast and to spend the day in a festive mood. But the inner call to run to safety was clear and audible enough to be ignored. So most respectfully I begged leave with no temptation for the charms, cherished contact with the sisters and the like as my mind was fully engaged and concentrated otherwise on the danger that loomed large menacingly. It was 6 P.M. In With due haste, the concerning papers and material were packed , and drove the Motorcycle,- alaready kept ready,- to some other station not far off but to quite the opposite side beyond doubt . It was only five to 7 minutes drive with 80 km speed that landed me in the safe zone. From secrecy point of view, the remaining out of the way distance of ½ a km. was covered on foot. Hardly I had reached the spot , a messenger brought the news that a force of two hundred Policemen well armed, had raided the place I had just left, that intense search was on, that the whole building was was srrounded by the Police, that family members of were being threatened with dire consequences; even the ~~truks~~ trunks had been got opened , ~~letters~~ inmates were not spared with no trace of mine. The disappointed and frustrated police lot with C.I.D

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personel all bewildered could not ~~disbelive~~ doubt their ~~eyes~~ traces and clues really so correct and exact. A few minutes delay on their part or few minutes earlier soundings by the Providencefailed their scheme and saved me to render still greater service and to add more glorious chapters to the aspirations of the Jammu people.

The other day I disguised as a peon visited Shri Yogesh war place, sympathised with the family memebrs, praised their ~~their~~ steadfastness and courage in face of the threats and humiliation. Respected mother was very happy that I had escaped and thanked God that her insistence to hold me did not work though she did not feel happy with my persistence otherwise..

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Some important events connected with Raipur Hide-out.

As already stated somewhere else, Raipur in Jammu Tehsil, was an ideal hide-out from every point of view as regards unqu its unique hospitality, the rich diet that the author used to to have and the perfect that he could enjoy no where else. It is a place inhabited mainly by Rajputs that had served and were serving on high ranks in Military with credit. Brigadier Ghansarasingh and Col. Boodhisingh and dozens of Col. and Majors were the pride of the State Military might and there was not a single family that had not its a member or two in the Army with distinction. Here I had a number of body guards from ex-servicemen who proved faithful and dare devils in the crisi ridden situations that provided protective umbrella even to my shadow beyond expression. Col. Budhisingh, Th. Gangaram and Th.Pyaresingh, their nephew with scores of others, were the outstanding figures who rendered invaluable service to the cause of the people represented by the Parishad with their person, money and mind. They hadput all at stake knowing well thatthey had been playing with the fire that could bring havock to their very existence when not only the Sheikh Abdulla but the Indian Government also, under the worthy leadership of Shri Nehru, Ji, were deadly opposed to the Parishad alleged to be a party of Zamindars and patronized by the Maharaja.This hide-out was well known to the Police and the Government of state but the strategic position added with martial spirit of the military trained inhabitants, made them to think twice before ordering a march to the site.

It is a fact known to the authorities that in case the author was there, he would purposely get five shots fired in intermitently air to signify his presence ~~intermittently~~ to demoralise the police and to put the whole village on guard till his stay.

On 15th of June 1953, about a hundred workers assembed at Th.Pyarsingh House that was the immediate one in the village.

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There was an equal number of vegetarians and non-vegetari Both desired for delicious respective meals. The villagers le by Pyarsingh felt honoured to fullfil the wishes of the worker from all over the region. In two hours time the meals were ready. Nonvegetarians enjoyed the first rate meat dishes to their heart content and the vegetarian were very much satisfie to relish the special dishes of Khor Milk and rice preparatio in abundance. It all speaks of villagers dedication to the cause and hospitality. How such an expenses feast was arranged was neve known to the author.

The meeting went on upto 4 A.M. the workers and left to their plann. ed destination by different directions in small groups in a disciplined manner without giving out any indication of such a great gathering in the village. The credit for such remark- ale secreacy goes tothe inhabitants who were so united and inspired by the cause that there was not a single black sheep in the area.

Many days'constant hard work and saleeplessness was overwlming the author. Drozyness was so intense that rest became inevitable. He asked his guards to remain vigilent for for an hour to afford his little for rest. Being over confider the guards with the dawn of the day left the place. Thakur Payarsingh's mother who was sixty years old at that time and had great respect for Purdah even at that age, overhearing the advance of the police in the street exactly behind theis her house got worried for the author's safety. The author was seepling in the outer room. She running from her interior room, finding no guard on duty, nocked the door several times with force to wake me up. But it was after her many attempts at knocking that the author woke to hear her wispering that the police was in the street. She took him to the backyard behind which the street ran and asked me to hide myself in the seven to eight feet big earthen Kohls where the food was stored. The author heard himself the orderly march of the

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Police Force in the street. The situation was tense and crucial no doubt. In height of excitement for his safety, the old and brave lady in a fit of excitement and rage became a symbol of Shakti. She tightened her dress, covered here head with a thick cloth and drew out a sword of her husband from seaboard addressingin respectful, polite and mild tone: You need not worry. I am here to protect. Jump into the Kohl. I shall not allow a single policeman to dare in till the last drop of ~~blood~~ blood in her." What a courage and enthusism It heartened and inspired the auther a lot but it was considered to be last resort. He did not develope s-cold fect. Remained cool for a minute. Concentrated upon head and heart as to what was still left to escape from the crisis so grave. The police had just to cover three hundred yards to be able to encircle the house. The front side on the east was till open and big trees and bushes in the south were there to give a cover. So I told the vemerable lady:"Kindly do not worry about my safety. There was no need to jump to the last resort as yet . There is ample time and oppotunity to escape to safety." Being more worried about the documents, correspondence, statements and press cutting -than my own safety, The author atonce put them in the Kohl with the request to the respected old lay to see that they remained intact and safe. The interior rooms were on higher terraces. Jumping from one roof to the other and then to the open field in a minute's time, in a night suit of a Major, that I was wearing at the time, He was in the Khad in front of the Raipur village in the east and reached accross the Khad to the hill in another three four minutes withoutbeing noticed by any suspcious eye. This hill is in opposite to the Raipur village and I had a very. ~~secure~~ ~~minutes~~ ~~the~~ ~~Police~~ ~~encircled~~ ~~the~~ ~~house~~ ~~made~~ ~~searoning~~ ~~enquires~~ ~~from~~ ~~the~~ ~~villagers~~ ~~assembled~~ ~~in~~ ~~hundreds~~ ~~there~~ ~~fully~~ ~~prepared~~ ~~for~~ ~~any~~ ~~eventuali~~

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they were certain that I was inside. Five dignitaries led by Col. Khudisingh, entered the house after negotiations with the Police. When they learnt about my safe escape to the east, they felt happy and satisfied . The tension that had gripped them earlier was no more there. They confidently called the Police authorities to make search as they liked and being told catogrically that the person they were after was not there hiding inside theys did not disbelieve the Col. and withdrew the police in disgust for the return march. ~~The police closed the main gate. One of the police with the corpse started to escape.~~ A messanger was also arranged to convey the slippping away to the concerned ust when the party of the locals vnetinsde the house. The number of the police force was eighty, headed by the Superintendent of police, assisted by two Inspectors and four Sub Inpectors. Five persons were in plain clothes perhaps from C.I.D.

The great advantage that obtained at Raipur was that there was no road that could link the village with the road that ran below the village above the Ranbir Canal. To be in Raipur one had to come either by Khad or the stone studed narrow passge two Km. long passage. The village was high enough and overlooked the road far below. Any suspicious movement could easily be noticed from the houses situated on commanding height in the west of the narrow passage. Khud could not be an easy approach being exposed to the guards defective eye always set on the side.

Once at dead night, thred trucks with lights on were noticed stopping at the causeway of the Khud. They rightly taken to be loaded with police force. Before the process of unloadin the force could find its end, the guards informed me and asked for instructions. Lights being on, it was not difficult to ai at with accuracy of a marksman. Five rifles from different angles went into operation simultaneously . The lights soon went off, the force was again loaded and the trucks were lightningly reversed to be off our range but fire on our side stil

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ent on unabetted till the dreadlot reached their barracks in the City.

Another night proved to be more dreadful as the suspicious persons in plain clothes had almost entered the house of Sh. Ryarsingh. To our fortune, they struck against a big ~~tweek~~ trunck lying in the outer Verandah with a loud sound that alerted all. How they managed to be there escaping guards' eye, was a matter of surprise. The author was busy in writing a statement. The guards immediately challanged them. The sound that was there own foolly frightened them so much so that they took to their heals with all the power and stamina they could muster. By the time I could come up the author unbolt the door and come out, the suspects had gone far off. Though the darkness, threes and bushes did provide them a shelter here there, but to kill the dreaded lot was not considered proper to avoid likely diversion of the agitation. The aim of demoralizing and putting the suspects on their heals was well served.

Once in the month of June, as usual, at 3 P.M. I was tak the author was taking path in the Ranbir Canal, a police forc was on its patrol duty in truck. The Inspector rightly spott ed the author and slowed down the vehicle. He also smelled the danger but without the least tension, as the canal was there in between and the feild behind was widely open to escape, he managed to move away without putting on clothes bef the force could come out of the vehicle to plan his arrest. The body guard brought my clothes and shoes and told how disgusted the Inspector felt being deprived of a big prize that was over his author's head.

Sometimes, whenever I author happened to be at Raipur, Col. Sukhisingh was insistant for meals taken at his place in the village. As these were always at odd hours, I had to bow to th their wishes to have the night stay also there.

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Neever declined to sleep inside of a room irrespective of the winter or summer seasons as it could prove to be very easy to escape in caseof any eventuality. So the bedding was always arranged on the second flour courtyard which was spacious enough and overlooked all the sides to provide sighting of a danger with ease. The house is situated in the centre of the village on a commanding height. Here Hecould enjoy two three hours sleeep without any worry or tension . But by 4 A.M. he would leave the place for jungle or the cattle stable of four fiv. rooms to the east of Raipur on another hill separated by the Khud. One day it so happened that due to fatigue and hard work at night, he could not get at 4 A.M. It was almost dawn when he got up. The danger of being noticed by villagers or other suspicious persons troubled him very much. He could remain in the house without being exposed. But his confinement could prove distress-- disastrous and wasteful for being cut off from the workers that were to come to inform the development outside and to carry a line of action. He did not lose a minute to decide to leave at risk of being noticed. He was still drozy feeling . He rubbed his eyes with both hands with little effect and was almost on his heals in this dangerous state with the result that he failed to judge or notice that he had reached the end of the field therefrom he had to go down about 40 ft' zigzag steep with the result that he fell rolled down in the Khud from the height and got himself badly bmrised all over the body besides getting his right knee wounded injured so much so that it became impoosible to stand on and move. There was none to help nor I liked any one to be ther. For ten minutes he remained in utter faced unbearable agony with body persparied all over and he could not help screaming. The Khud was already tough with boulders and demanded resistenc and stamina that had left me as if for good. But the stremg the of the heart pulled me up, revived the stamina and the reached my destination limping all the way

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In AKHNUR TEHSIL.

In the month of Feb. 1953, as proposed by the workers, I toured Akhnur Tehsil to ~~chek~~ chalk out the Satyagrah programme in the tehsil, which never lagged behind any tehsil in offering Satyagrahies and making sacrifices.

As it was not possible to cross the Chenab bridge without risk of being caught or shot ~~down~~ dead in encounter with the police, ~~as~~ the place was heavily guarded, the river was crossed on boat near ~~,~~ at 10 P.M. in front of village Garhi owned by Thakur Kartarsingh ~~came from.~~ I had three companions and a bodyguard known Amarnath from Noashera. On the other side of the river, six seven workers had come to escort us to a hide-out, beyond Garhi, in a single two storied house, in the Jungle. The place was full of Tehsil workers. Meals already prepared were served ~~no-sooner~~ just after our arrival. ~~Just~~ This followed address to the workers. ~~But~~ In the meanwhile, the guards set out to have watch on the police, which ~~was sure~~ likely to have had been following us, sent an urgent message ~~that~~ the police was advancing in the right direction ~~and that~~ the place should be vacated atonce. So the workers were asked to flee to a far off secure place named ~~[illegible]~~ by the author in different directions ~~and~~ The lead was given to all in the company of two dare devils. ~~But~~ unfortunately, some workers, who had taken the message lightly and violated the clear instructionw, fell victims to the police raid, ~~that came soon after and surrounded the place.~~ Five managed to escape ~~and~~ Seven came to be arrested. The village Gorla ~~beyond~~ Kaleet village, situated on a commonding hill, was the next resort. We reached there at 7 A.M. after 6 ~~as it is~~ was after 6 about 15 miles ~~away from the place we discarded at 1 P.M. The dark night~~ night ~~the~~ tract was almost hilly, steepy with thorny bushes alround ~~and~~ the uneven stony terrain proved to be a boon blessing in disguise as it was not poosible for the police to follow us, on such a rough and tough passage. The place was very safe and a secure. in the Centre of the ~~steal~~ Tehsil

For more Workers in satyagraha tour

in aggressively

6 travelling 15 miles on foot

The night was dark

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meeting of workers led by Sehdevsingh, Incharge of Tehsil Akhnur, was held there. The Tehsil having had already shared heavily the different programes both central and local ones, it was decided that no other programme should be held for some time in the Tehsil. After expensive tour of the Tehsil for two more days, I returned to Akhnur via Jourian and held a big pub workers meeting at Akhnur at 11 P.M. and left the place the same night in a truck in a cleaner's uniform. Checking was very intemsive on the bridge. I got the truck stopped some distance away from the bridge but quitd in front of the checking staff and got down with an excuse for natural call. The checking staff came up to the truck, asked the reason for stoppage and felt satisfied with through search. and the answer of the Driver that his conductor had gone for a natural call. Getting green signal from the driver, who was no other than a very faithful worker of our, a sikh by birth, we drove towards Jammu with confidence.

After three days of my tour, a procession led by Shri Sehdevsingh, sarve-sarva-of the Tehsil, was tear-gassed and lathicharged, but the situation did not get out of control, due to the foresight and wisdom of some of the officers on duty, and the examplary non-violent behavour of the processionists. But next day Shri Sehdevsingh again led another procession in Jurian which could not remain non-violent, when severely beaten by the Punjab Police, under instructions of the local officers, who proved too unwise to read the writing on the wall, and remained hard and fast in not allowing the processionists to proceed by a particular route and instead of pacifying and averting the tension to take alarming dimensions, resorted to worst sort of lathi charge injuring many seriously. But when the processionists still undeterred by the police action, still persisted to push their way to a particular point, the Police resorted

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to indiscriminat firing. As a result ~~whereof~~ 7 persons fell victims to it and about a dozen were injured.

It was not a centrally approved programme. There was no immediate cause to necessitate procession ~~and the protest~~ especially when a few days earlier, it was decided that Akhnur Tehsil ~~will-re~~ would remain silent till further decision. I honestly feel it was the result of unforsightedness and blind enthusiasim on the part of especially Thakur Sehdevsingh, who in disregard of the decision and ~~the~~ unmindful of the consequeneces, took a drastic step that resulted in the death of 7 valueable lives. Both the ~~sides~~ the Government and the people on the otherside ~~led by~~ under the leadership of the Thukar, failed to contain themselves. Hardened attitudes got the upperhand to cause the much disliked and never wanted tragedy. Shri Sehdevsingh unsuccessfully tried to justify the step, because of some local circumstances. But sacrifice is a sacrifice and it definitely stirs the feeelings, awakens the people, befriends the enemies, wins sympathisers and turns the tables in favour of the agitators though at heavy cost and so it happened. The satyagrah reached the climax. The people all over the ~~region became~~ mad with resentment. The time was crucial. The masses and the workers were not ready to a peaceful resentment. They wanted to pay in the same coin. Hard persuasion and day and night discussions, extensive tour of at least of the District places, like Udhampur, Kathua Reasi, Hiranagar, and R.S.Pura, had some effect and all behaved and responded favourably to remain non-violent and peaceful ~~and~~ realizing well that violence kills the agitation and non-violence bestows colour, life and power to the sufferers. So the agitation went on with greater ~~and~~ enthusism till the Government was ~~brought~~ down to its ~~humble~~ knees.

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